

THE
M E M O I R S
OF
KHOJEH ABDULKURREEM,
A CASHMERIAN OF DISTINCTION.

Q. A. R. K. R. R. R.

K
Abd Al Karim bin Aribah bin Muhammad Bulaki
Al Kashmiri

B. I. O. G. R. A. M.

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE
M E M O I R S
 OF
KHOJEH ABDULKURREEM,
 A CASHMERIAN OF DISTINCTION,

Who accompanied NADIR SHAH, on his return from
 HINDOSTAN to PERSIA; from whence he travelled to
 BAGHDAD, DAMASCUS, and ALEPPO, and after visit-
 ing MEDINA and MECCA, embarked on a ship at the
 port of JEDDEH, and sailed to HOOGHLY in BENGAL.

INCLUDING

The HISTORY of HINDOSTAN, from A. D. 1739 to
 1749: with an account of the EUROPEAN SETTLE-
 MENTS in BENGAL, and on the Coast of COROMANDEL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN,

By FRANCIS GLADWIN, Esq.

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED BY WILLIAM MACKAY.

M.DCC.LXXXVIII.

MEMOIRS

KHOJAH ARHUKUR KHEM

THE HISTORY OF HINDUSTAN, FROM A.D. 1519 TO 1739: WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE HINDOOSTAN SETTLEMENTS IN BENGAL, AND IN THE COAST OF COROMANDEL.



TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN BY FRANCIS A. D. W. E.

PRINTED BY WILLIAM MACGILL, CALCUTTA.

TO THE HONOURABLE
SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL,
KNIGHT OF THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER
OF THE BATH,
GOVERNOR, AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF,
OF FORT ST. GEORGE, &c. &c. &c.

THIS WORK,

IS HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS MOST OBLIGED,

AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THE TRANSLATOR.

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THE

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

ABDULKURREEM *, the son of Khojeh Akebut Mahmood †, and grand-son of Mohammed Bolaky ‡, was born in the land of Cashmeer §, the semblance of the celestial Paradise §, the inheritance of our great ancestor; and like him was banished from his native soil; but with this difference, that Adam had first tasted the fruit of his sin.

*Befriend me, for I am the Adam ** of this age;
None but the accursed Satan ††, will be my enemy.*

محمد باقني ‡ خواجہ عاقبت محمود † عبد الکریم *
 || Kashmir § Cashmeer is siled, in all publick writings,
 جنت نظیر Jennetnazeer or resembling Paradise.
 آدم ** شیطان †† I

vi AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

I now humbly address myself to the truly learned, who although they be perfect in knowledge and wisdom, are ready to excuse the defects of others.

At the time Nadir Shah * invaded Hindostan †, I dwelt in the city of Shahjehanabad ‡. I had long wished to have an opportunity of making a pilgrimage to Mecca §, as well as to visit the holy shrines, and to kiss the feet of the true believers. Now since every one who heartily perseveres, will surely obtain the object of his wishes, it so happened, that I was introduced to Mirza Aly Akber §, who although nominally only keeper of the records, yet from there not being any prime minister, performed all the functions of that office. “ Whatever God resolves shall come to pass, he also produces the means of its accomplishment.” Summarily, Mirza Aly Akber presented me to Nadir Shah, who engaging his word, that I should be per-

شاه جهان آباد ‡ هندوستان † نادر شاه *
 مرزا علی اکبر § مکہ || دہلی Dehly. or
 mitted

AUTHOR'S PREFACE. vii

mitted to perform the pilgrimage of Mecca, I entered into his service.

After my return from my travels, which proved longer than I had at first intended, some of my dearest friends, of whose love and affection I had experienced most substantial proofs, advised me to draw up a summary relation of my journey, and some account of the court of Persia; together with a narrative of the most interesting events in the History of Hindostan, since my arrival at Hooghly, which I have accordingly attempted in a plain and unaffected style.

*It is irksome to be teased with old tales;
You had better tell only what you have
yourself seen.
The story of Ferhad and Shirreen * is be-
come uninteresting;
Like past Love, or an old Almanack.*

* Ferhad فرهاد is a celebrated Persian Statuary, said to have cut many figures in the mountain of Beyltoon بیستون for his love of Shirreen شیرین. This mountain is described by our author in the account of his travels through Persia. ○ ○

I relate

viii AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

I relate what I have beheld with mine own eyes ;

Not mere hearsay, or antiquated fables.

No man in his senses would travel an unknown road ;

Whatever the Pilgrim tells you, is from his own observation.

As I have entitled this little work *a true Relation* *, so I have kept the contents free from flattery and exaggeration, which too often stain the historic page. I have also avoided prolixity, as well as studied cadences, and flowing periods, which only serve to perplex the sense.

Hafiz exclaims, that, nevertheless, these are not all absurdities ;

There being actually strange stories, as well as wonderful traditions.

* بیان واقع

In the translation we have omitted every thing relative to Nadir Shah, before his return from Hindostan, the public being already in possession of those particulars from a most masterly pen.

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ERRATA.

E R R A T A.

Page. Line.

- 1 after 7th of Sefer, add or 4th May 1739.
- 15 after 8th Ramzan, add or 27th November 1739.
- 16 after 1st of Shawaal, add or 20th December 1739.
- 21—20 for twenty-four read twelve.
- 22 after 9th Moherrem, add or 25th March 1740.
- after 3d Sefer, add or 18th April 1740.
- 24 after 5th of Rebby ul Awwel, add or 19th May 1740.
- 59 after middle of Shaban, add or end of October 1740.
- 84—2 for Assum read Afyoon.
- 87—8 for Cutckar read Kâchâr.
- 121—20 for Kerkoob read Kerkook.
- 122—13 for Kerkoob read Kerkook.
- Throughout for Zakariah read Zekaria.
- 132—21 for the read those.
- 133—24 for Alij read Aly.
- 170—23 for mastigation read mastication.
- 199—14 for Syed read Syeds.
- 215—15 for Shiraz read Baghdad.
- 117—21 dele other.

 Such as can have no doubt of the real reading or spelling, are omitted.

1859

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The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been admitted to the membership of the Society since the last meeting of the Executive Committee. The names are given in alphabetical order of their surnames. The names of the persons who have been admitted to the membership of the Society since the last meeting of the Executive Committee are given in alphabetical order of their surnames. The names of the persons who have been admitted to the membership of the Society since the last meeting of the Executive Committee are given in alphabetical order of their surnames.

1859

1859

THE

M E M O I R S

KHOJEH ABDULKURREEM.

NADIR SHAH *marches from* SHAH-
JEHANABAD, *on his return to*
PERSIA.

ON the 7th of Sefer, A. H. 1152,
(or A. D. 1739), Nadir Shah re-
signed over to Mohammed Shah
the Empire of Hindostan; and marching
from Dehly, encamped at the garden of
Shalehmar *.

He had given positive orders to Hajee
Folad Khan †, the Cutwal ‡ of Dehly,
that if any of his soldiers were found in

* شالہ مار

† حاجی فولاد خان

‡ کوتوال

Superintendent of the Police

B

the

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the city after his march, to cut off their ears and noses, and then send them to him. However, many disgusted with his tyranny, ran all hazards by staying behind; some of whom incurred the punishment, whilst others were happy enough to elude the diligent search of the Cutwal. As all the country on the Lahoor* road, had been totally desolated by the Kezlebashs † on their march to Dehly, Nadir Shah now resolved to take the route of Syalkote ‡, which being well inhabited, would afford him fresh plunder. Being the month of May the sun's rays were exceedingly powerful, and the wind scorching hot, when the Persians unaccustomed to such weather, and who were clothed for a cold climate, were not able to support the fatigue, so that great numbers of men and cattle expired on this march. Those who survived the fatigue

* **لاهور** † **قرلباش** An order of soldiers among the Persians, as the Janizaries among the Turks. It signifies in the Turkish language *red beads*, and they are so called from the red caps, which they wore when first instituted by Sheikh Hyder, the father of Shah Ismail, first King of the Sefly Family.

‡ **سالكوت**

and

and heat of the journey, were restored to their health by the refreshing stream of Chenab *, which issuing from the neighbouring mountains, was at this season so intensely cold, that no man could stand in it up to his waist for one minute.

As soon as the bridge was formed over the Chenab, the inhabitants, who upon the approach of the Persian army, had fled to the mountains to avoid being plundered, came in the middle of the night, and throwing large trees into the river, the rapidity of the stream carried them with such violence against the boats, as broke the chains asunder, and a great number of people perished. Nadir Shah despairing of being able to repair the bridge, was under the necessity of crossing his army in boats; which detained him here some days. This halt, however, was of great service to his troops, by allowing them time to recruit their health and spirits. Men of all ranks were dissatisfied with his service, yet dared not

* چناب

B 2

desert;

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desert ; but were compelled to submit to his severities, sooner than entail utter ruin on their families, who would have been made accountable for their conduct ; and their property wherever it could have been discovered, would have been confiscated. Thus without either chain or yoke, they were held in cruel bondage ; and whilst the instruments of their master's tyranny, were themselves the most abject and oppressed slaves,

Abulhassan Beg *, the Yekah Bashy †, was ordered to place trusty people at the ferry, to examine all persons before they passed the river ; and if any valuable jewels were discovered upon them, to seize and send them to the royal treasury. Upon the publication of this order, some came of themselves and delivered up the jewels they had got in plunder, and these were rewarded with dresses and other presents. From others were taken what they had concealed in the packs and saddles

* *ابوالحسن بيك* † *يکەباشى* An officer of high rank, but whose particular duty we have not been able to learn.

of their horses, camels, or mules. Some buried their stores in the ground, hoping that after the search was over, they might be able to return, and dig them up again; but from the strict orders of Nadir Shah, which were punctually obeyed, it was impossible for any one to recross the river: and thus the treasure remained in the bowels of its parent earth. Others, out of rage and indignation, threw into the river whatever they had concealed. The Yekah Bashy was directed to see that all the Hindostany prisoners were released, and given in charge to Zekariah Khan *, the Soobahdar of Lahoor, to be sent back to their respective countries.

When the army had crossed the Chenab, Nadir Shah informed his officers of his intention to march to Cashmeer; but upon its being represented to him that the roads were difficult for an army to pass, and that provisions would be found very scarce, he laid aside all thoughts of that expedition. Here Zekariah Khan took his leave and set out for Lahoor.

* زکریا خان

By

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By repeated marches, without one halting day intervening, notwithstanding it rained almost incessantly, he arrived on the banks of the Jylum *. In the middle of the river, a camel loaded with gold plate took fright, and falling from the bridge of boats was drowned, and no part of the plate was ever recovered. At this place Nadir Shah sent back Mohammed Shah's artillery, and made them a present of the gold plate, which was sunk in the river. They of course exerted all their endeavours, but only lost their time. It is said, indeed, that they found a brass basin and ewer. Although it rained violently, he marched along the borders of Rawil Pundy †, and passing Hassan Abdal ‡, encamped on the banks of the river, which runs through the territory of the Afghans of Yousef Zei ||. From hence he sent a detachment to subdue those Afghans, who had never yet been deprived of their independence. They had a deep river to pass, and the Afghans had burnt all the boats;

* جيلم † راول پندی ‡ حسن ابدال
|| افغانه يوسف زئي

but

but Nadir Shah ordered the men to cross on elephants, and swim their horses ; by which means having gained the opposite side, the enemy, after a vigorous resistance, in which they suffered great slaughter, were obliged to submit ; and to obtain quarter, engaged to pay a tribute, and to furnish Nadir Shah's army with thirty thousand effective men. Nadir Shah was glad to grant them these terms, for had he been detained a month longer on this expedition, the mountains of Cabul * would have been impassable, on account of the snow ; whilst the state of affairs in Persia began to require his presence in that quarter.

* کابل

Other

*Other Occurrences during NADIR
SHAH'S Expedition against the
AFGHANS of YOUSEF ZEI.*

SOON after Nadir Shah's arrival in the territory of Yousef Zei, he issued an edict to the governors of all the provinces of Iran *, whereby he granted a total remission of tribute from that kingdom for three years to come.

He appointed Ameer Hajee Khan † his ambassador to the Emperor of Turkey ‡, to whom he sent fifteen elephants and a few jewels, with some Cashmeery shawls, and other valuable productions of Hindostan. The party that accompanied him, were ordered to be mounted on fine horses richly caparisoned. The letter which he wrote to the Emperor of Turkey contained, amongst other matters, as follows: That the wall which Zobeideh Khatun || caused to be erected, to mark the road

* ایران The Persian Empire. † امیر حاجی خان

‡ قیصر روم Kyfir Room.

|| زبیده خاتون
from

from Cufah* to Mecca†, has been demolished by the Arabs, who have destroyed the wells, and now plunder the pilgrims, verifying the verse of the Koran which says, "that the Arabs are the most hardened infidels." That it is therefore incumbent on the Emperor of Turkey, to order the governor of that province to repair the road, and extirpate the bands of robbers that infest it; so that the Pilgrims of Iran and Turan‡, may pass in safety by that route, which is their nearest way to Mecca; under the conduct of Ameer Hajee Khan, whom Nadir Shah had now appointed to that office. That if on account of the war against the Christians, the Emperor should find it inconvenient to punish the Arabs, he need only signify as much to Nadir Shah, who would send an army of Kezlebashes, to deliver the righteous from out of the hands of those miscreants, which would be an act meritorious before God and man. That whereas at Mecca the Imams || in the four orato-

* كوفه † مكة ‡ امام توران Turcomania. || امام

ries of the four sects *, pray for the Emperor of Turkey alone, Nadir Shah requested, that in the oratory of Shafei, which is situated on the side of Iran, his own name might be used. He also desired that Seffy Mirza †, who was at the court of Constantinople ‡, might be sent to him, for the preservation of peace and friendship; for that if this request was refused, a war would be the inevitable consequence; adding, that it is manly, to give notice of our intention. The above are all the particulars upon which I was able to obtain information.

Nadir Shah ordered the Darogah of the Feel-khaneh || to send all the elephants before the army, through Ghuzneen §, and Kandahar **, to Herat ††, to prevent scarcity of provisions in the camp. Many

* The four sects, are *حنفي* Henefee, *مالكي* Malekes,

صفى ميرزا † *شافعي* Shafei. *حنبلي* Hembely.

‡ *قسطنطينيه* Costentiniah. || داروغه فيل خانه

Master of the Elephants.

قدار ** غزنین §

هرات ††

of these animals had been used to eat sugar-cane and various drugs of Hindostan, which not being procurable in many places through which they passed, afforded their keepers ample pretexts for extorting fines from the people of the country. And whenever an elephant died, the keeper, in order to exculpate himself with Nadir Shah, represented that it had happened from the want of the accustomary supplies, and thereby brought farther distress upon the country, from the effects of the Shah's displeasure. Seventy-five elephants died between Cabul and Herat.

Nadir Shah being encamped on the banks of the river, three Afghans swam over from the opposite side in the middle of the night, and having entered the outer tent, were proceeding to his sleeping apartment; but the noise of their feet having awakened him, he removed to another place, and being ignorant of their number, thought it most prudent to observe silence. They entered the sleeping tent, and having failed in their main design, which was to have assassinated the Shah, they loaded

themselves with the most valuable effects they could lay their hands upon. The guards were soon alarmed, but the Afghans plunged into the water, dived like aligators, and swam across the river with their booty. In the morning, the guards who were stationed near the river were put to death, and all those of other posts, were punished with different degrees of severity, proportionate to their neglect of duty. As the season for passing the mountains would now soon be elapsed, he did not trouble himself to make any enquiry into the conspiracy, which would have detained him here. He crossed the river in the middle of the territory of Youlef Zei, where it is divided into five branches, over three of which bridges were constructed, the other two were fordable. These five streams unite at the ferry of Peishore *, which confluence is called the Attock †. In ancient books it is called Neelab ‡.

They entered the sleeping tent, and having taken in their arms, they loaded to have illuminated the Shah, they loaded

The Nussuckchee Balhee *, conformably to the Shah's orders, having distributed his men upon the bridges, and at the fords, took from the soldiers the remainder of the Hindostany prisoners, and gave them in charge to Hajee Askeree †, the agent of Zakaria Khan, Soobahdar of Lahoor, to be sent by him to their respective countries.

Nadir Shah now bestowed the Soobahdary of Peishore upon Nassir Khan ‡, who had held that government before.

The army proceeding by quick marches, by the route of Jellalabad ||, arrived at Cabul, on the 1st of Ramzan, A. H. 1152. This city is entirely desolated by the oppressions of the governor; but the neighbouring country is rather in a better state. The healthiness of the climate is well ascertained by the robust make, and hearty constitutions of the natives.

* نسقچی باشی

‡ ناصر خان

† حاجی عسکری

|| جلال آباد I

I visited the tomb of my paternal grandfather Khojeh Mohammed Bolaky*: and was much delighted with the gardens, and other places in this country.

* خواجه محمد بلاقي

NADIR

NADIR SHAH *marches to SIND, desolates that Country, and takes the SOOBAHDAR prisoner.*

NADIR SHAH had sent orders to Khodayear Khan *, the Soobahdar of Sind †, to meet him at Cabul; but he having neglected to obey the summons, the Shah was enraged at his insolence, and resolved to punish him. Accordingly, on the 8th of Ramzan, he marched from Cabul through the Bungishat ‡. Fortunately there was not any fall of snow during this expedition, although from the season of the year, it might reasonably have been expected. But the men suffered great inconvenience, from the cold blasts of wind from the mountains; and amongst the passes they had to encounter a very rapid river, in which was lost near a fourth of the plunder of Hindostan; and a great deal of baggage belonging to the officers and soldiers.

* خدايارخان † سند ‡ بنکشا

This

This destructive river winds in its course like a deadly snake, so that they were obliged to cross it twenty-two times. Numbers of camels and mules perished therein, and to add to this calamity, there was a scarcity of provisions for the cattle. Had it happened to snow, the whole army must inevitably have perished. After a most fatiguing march of twenty-four days, the army entered the territory of Sind, on the first of the month of Shawal. When we had got about half a cose out of the pass, there was a very sensible change in the climate; and we saw fields cultivated with wheat and barley. We had now a double cause for rejoicing, for the conclusion of the fast of Ramzan, and our deliverance from the calamities above described. The next day it rained so violently, and such torrents issued from the mountains, that numbers of the people who had fallen behind perished. The Zemindars shut themselves up in their forts, and instead of tribute, promised nothing but cannon-balls; but the army halting, they were soon obliged to surrender. Not only their lives were spared, but they were
exempted

exempted from plunder, upon engaging to transport the artillery to Khoda-abad *. For want of a sufficient number of cattle, men were compelled to be yoked; many died through fatigue, and ill treatment, whilst others were starved to death: the surviving few were permitted to return to their own homes.

The jungle of Tabrestan †, or Mazenderan ‡, is nothing when compared with what we had to pass on the borders of Sind. Even Nadir Shah and the army missed their way and separated; and the camp followers were in the utmost confusion and distress. In one part the reeds took fire, which so frightened the camels, that many who had valuable loads, ran off with their riders, and were never more heard of. To add to these distresses, the inhabitants, by the direction of Khodayear Khan, had buried all the grain which they were not able to burn, and then took to flight. The army was in danger of perishing by famine, when the scouts disco-

مازندران ‡ جنگل طبرستان † خداآباد *

vered some grain buried in the distant villages, which was divided amongst the troops according to the muster-rolls. For the cattle there was plenty of green wheat and barley, the country being highly cultivated. When we got through the jungle, we arrived at Larkaneh *, where Nadir Shah resolved to leave the baggage.

During the whole of this march, all the villages through which we passed were entirely deserted; and the only person that I saw was a fat Brahmin sitting upon the highway begging alms in the names of Ram † and Mahadeo ‡. I did all I could to persuade him to save himself by flight from the fury of the soldiers, who were near at hand, but he was so infatuated, that he would not stir, and even asked me, if I envied him the alms which he should obtain? During our conversation, a party of Bukhtycarees || came up, and binding the poor wretch hand and foot, they cut him in pieces, to try the sharpness of their swords.

بختیاری || مہادیو ‡ رام † لارکانہ *

NADIR

NADIR SHAH *marches against KHO-*
DAYEAR KHAN. He celebrates
the Festival of the New Year, af-
ter the manner of the Emperors
of HINDOSTAN.

KHODAYEAR KHAN having crof-
 sed the river Attock, which is here
 called Sind, had retired with his family and
 most valuable effects to the fort of Amer-
 kote *, situated in a sandy desert, entirely
 destitute of water. He had left a great
 deal of money and effects in boats on the
 river, that in case of emergency, he might
 escape that way. Nadir Shah hastened to
 Amerkote with a small detachment. On
 the very day that Khodayear Khan had re-
 solved to embark with his family on board
 the boats, and lie concealed amongst the
 islands of the Sind, till Nadir Shah's
 return to Iran; Nadir Shah besieged
 the fort before sun-rise, when Khodayear
 Khan, by the advice of his friends, com-

* امرکوت

D 2

menced

menced a negotiation, and offered to surrender if he was only promised his life, and that his family should not be disgraced. On account of the scarcity of water and provisions, Nadir Shah acceded to the proposed terms; and upon his coming to make his submissions, he only directed his motions to be watched, merely to secure his person; but strict orders were given, that no indignity should be offered to himself or any of his family. All the money and effects that were found in the fort, and on board the boats, were seized and sent to the camp at Larkaneh. Kho-dayear Khan is of a dark complexion, and afflicted with the leprosy. The inhabitants of Sind, who are Belooches*, pay him great respect on account of his virtues, considering him as their spiritual guide. His family had long possessed a Zemindarry in this country, and at present he is Soobahdar of Sind, on the part of the Emperor of Hindostan.

I was present when an inventory was

* بلوچ. An Afghan Tribe.

taken of the effects of Khodayear Khan, and saw amongst them many things that had formerly belonged to the Seffevy Sultans, and which were recognized by the officers employed in taking the account. Upon inquiry it was found, that the Afghans of Kandahar when they plundered Iran, sent the most valuable articles to different places for sale.

Nadir Shah was exceedingly rejoiced at his success over Khodayear Khan. He celebrated the festival of the New Year at Larkaneh, and bestowed very considerable presents amongst his army. To those of the first rank he gave five hundred mohurs each; to others from one to three hundred mohurs; and every private soldier had two mohurs. The mohur was that of Hindostan worth twenty-four rupees. Of the first rank were Allavee Khan the Hakeem Bashy, Abulhassan Khan, Lutfullah Khan *, Nassirullah Mirza †, and Thamas Khan ‡. Amongst the others

طهماس خان ‡ نصر الله مرزا † لطف الله خان *

were

were Mirza Aly Akber *, keeper of the records, and Mirza Mohammed Isfahany †, Vizier of the household.

At this place Syed Mohammed Khan ‡, waited upon Nadir Shah, with dispatches from Mohammed Shah, and some valuable presents.

Nadir Shah appointed some of his officers to remain in Sind, and after receiving from Khodayear Khan two of his sons as hostages, conferred upon him the title of Shah Kuly Khan ||.

Before he left Larkaneh, he returned an answer to Mohammed Shah's letter. He also sent back Zekaria Khan to Lahooor, from whence he had lately called him.

On the ninth of the month of Moherrem, Nadir Shah marched from Larkaneh

سید محمد خان ‡ مرزا محمد اصفهانی † مرزا علی اکبر *
شاه قلی خان ||

for

for Kandāhar, by the road of Pesheng *. Between Sind and Kandahar lies a vast desert without water, called Desht Beydowlet †. The soil is so hard, and the springs lie so deep, that it is impossible to sink wells on a march.

On the third of the month of Sefer, we arrived at Kandahar. It had a very strong fort, which was destroyed by Nadir Shah, and near the place where it stood, a mud fort is built, called Nadirabad ‡.

After leaving Kandahar, the army forded the river Andab ||, and crossed the river Kersek §, partly after the same manner, and partly in boats. Some of the plunder of Hindostan was also lost in this river.

By repeated marches, Nadir Shah arrived at the city of Ferah **, the governor of which he punished for having op-

نادر آباد ‡ وشت بیدولت † پشنگ *
فراه ** کرسک § عذاب ||
pressed

pressed the inhabitants. This place is in ruins; but the adjacent country is delightful.

On the 5th of Rebbi-ul-awwel, we arrived at Herat, and encamped near Gazerghah *. From Kandahar to Herat, the towns and villages are mostly in a ruinous condition; but in travelling six or eight farsangs, you will meet with one or two in a more flourishing state than others. This climate is very different from that of Cabul, for on the first of Moherrem, on the borders of the Bungi-shat, I saw wheat a cubit high, and three months after when I arrived at Herat, the harvest was not in more forwardness.

Herat must have been a fine city; but from the oppressions of the government, it is now in such a state of desolation, that the ground floors of the houses are ploughed up and sown with grain. The fruits of this country are very fine, particularly the musk melons, which are ini-

* کازرگاه

mitable.

mitable. Here are ruins of magnificent mosques and tombs. During the summer the wind blows very strong, when they make use of wind-mills to grind their corn. These strong winds are a great blessing, as without them the country would swarm with insects; and the stagnation of air would endanger a plague.

In order to make the necessary preparations for an expedition against Turan, Nadir Shah remained a month and a half at Herat. He positively directed that persons of all ranks should leave their superfluous baggage at Herat; and that one tent should suffice for ten men. His own treasure, the Jewel-office, and Peacock-throne he sent to Meshed *. He appointed his son Nasser ullah Mirza to govern at Herat, and left along with him Allavee Khan the Hakeem Bashy.

* —————

E

A def-

*A description of the Tent decorated
with precious Stones.*

WHEN Nadir Shah was at Dehly, he had such a profusion of jewels, that he ordered the Moabir Bashy *, to make up arms and harness of every kind, inlaid with precious stones, and to ornament a large tent in the same manner. For this purpose, the best workmen that could be procured, were employed a year and two months during the march; and when Nadir Shah arrived at Herat, the Moabir Bashy informed him that a great number of the following articles, richly inlaid with precious stones, were prepared viz. horse harness, sword-sheaths, quivers, shields, spear-cases, and maces; with Sundelees †, or chairs of different sizes, and a large tent lined with jewels. The tent was ordered to be pitched in the Dewan Khaneh ‡, in which were placed the

* معبر باشی His office resembles that of our Quarter Master General. † سندی The public hall. ‡ دیوان خانه

Tukht Taouffee *, or Peacock Throne, brought from Dehly, the Tukht Nadery †, with the thrones of some other monarchs, together with the inlaid Sundelee. Publication was made by beat of drum throughout the city, and the camp, that all persons had liberty to come to this magnificent exhibition, such as had never before been seen in any age or country. Nadir Shah was not pleased with the form of the tent, and besides being lined with green sattin, many of the jewels did not appear to advantage : he therefore ordered it to be taken to pieces, and a new one to be made, the top of which, for the convenience of transportation, should be separate from the walls ; such as in Hindostan is called a Rowty ‡. When he returned to Meshed from his expedition into Turan, this new tent being finished, was displayed in the same manner as the former one; but its beauty and magnificence are beyond description. The outside was covered with fine scarlet broad cloth, the lining was of violet coloured sattin, upon which were representations of all the birds and

راوتی ‡ تخت نادری † تخت طاووسی *

E 2

beasts

beasts in the creation, with trees and flowers, the whole made of pearls, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, amethysts, and other precious stones: and the tent poles were decorated in like manner. On both sides of the Peacock Throne was a screen, upon which were the figures of two angels in precious stones. The roof of the tent consisted of seven pieces, and when it was transported to any place, two of these pieces packed in cotton, were put into a wooden chest, two of which were a sufficient load for an elephant; and the screen filled another chest. The walls of the tent, the tent poles and the tent pins, which latter were of massy gold, loaded five more elephants; so that for the carriage of the whole were required seven elephants. This magnificent tent was displayed on all festivals in the Dewan Khaneh at Herat, during the remainder of Nadir Shah's reign. After his death, his nephew Adil Shah *, and his grandson Shahrokh †, whose territories were very limited, and expences enormous, had the tent taken to pieces, and dissipated the produce.

* عادل شاه † شاه رخ

NADIR

NADIR SHAH *marches* 'from
HERAT, *on an expedition against*
TURAN.

HAVING appointed Nassirullah Mirza, his second son, to govern in Iran during his absence, he set out upon his expedition against Turan, accompanied by Reza Kuly Khan Mirza his eldest son; and by quick marches arrived at Maroochâk *. This town is well inhabited, but all the water in its neighbourhood is very bad. Nadir Shah has compelled some people of the tribe of Shahoon † to settle here. Throughout Iran, and the bordering territories, are an infinite number of Elats ‡, or wandering tribes, and of whom the Persian army is chiefly composed. The most numerous of these tribes are the Akrad ||, or Curds, the Akfar §, the Jelaroo **, the Keratchloo ††, the Ferdad Aly †††, the Shamloo ||||.

اکراد || ایلات ‡ شاهون † ماروچاق *
شاملو ||| فرداد علی †† قراچلو †† جلارو ** افسار §
and

and the Bukhtyearee *, &c. Like the Arabs of the desert, they wander about in quest of good pasturage and water, which when they have found, they pitch their tents and remain till their cattle have eaten up all the grass on that spot, when they remove in search of more. Amongst these people, riches and property signify flocks and herds of camels, horses, oxen, sheep, and goats. Some of them, however, settle in towns, and apply themselves to agriculture. These customs prevail also throughout Turan.

From the borders of Maroochâk to the town of Indekoo †, dependent upon Balkh, there are very few buildings; and the country being unfrequented, abounds with game, and wild beasts. The soldiers killed such numbers of deer, that no body would eat mutton. Thamas Khan Jelayir ‡ an officer of high rank, having gone into the jungle with a small party of chosen men to hunt, a wild boar issued suddenly from amongst the reeds, and his horse

* بختيارى † اندکو ‡ طهماسب خان جلاير
taking

taking fright, threw him. The boar then attacked him, when Gholaum Khan* shot the tremendous beast with an arrow, and also cut him with his sword, upon which he quitted Thamas Khan, and seizing Gholaum Khan killed him. He now returned to Thamas Khan, but he was again fortunately delivered from his clutches by another servant coming up, and killing the boar with a match-lock. Thamas Khan being very short and thick, and of a dark complexion, Nadir Shah laughed heartily at the relation of his adventure, and told him, that his little brother had used him very uncivilly.

Between Herat and Balkh, is a sandy desert, entirely destitute of water, three days journey in length; the exact breadth I was not able to learn; but it extends to the borders of Khovarez, and to Kereh Kilpâk †, the entrance into the Desht Kipchâk ‡. It also marks the boundary between Bokhara ||, and Meru Shahjan §.

بخارا || دشت قپچاق ‡ قره قلیاق † غلام خان *
 مرو شایجان §

Rustam

Rustam *, the son of Zal †, marched by this road from Iran to Turan. Nadir Shah went to Turan through Maroochâk, Indekoo, and Balkh, and returned by Meru Shahjan; so that either way you must cross this frightful desert. In passing it this time, many men and great numbers of horses perished.

From Herat to Balkh, our route lay chiefly west. As Balkh had been some time in the possession of Nadir Shah, the army did not meet with any molestation on the march to that city. Yar Mohammed Khan ‡, the governor of that territory, obtained Nadir Shah's permission to go to Mecca, and was furnished, at his expence, with every thing necessary for the journey. I afterwards met with this nobleman at Damascus, where he had been waiting a long time for the Caravan; and again on the road, and at Mecca I had frequently the pleasure of seeing him. After performing the pilgrimage of Mecca, he went to Surat ||, and from thence

سورت || یار محمد خان ‡ زال † رستم *

into

into the Dekhan *, where he was received with great respect by Nizam-ul-Mulk †, who allowed him an establishment of one thousand rupees per mensem; which at the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk, was continued to him by the sons of that nobleman.

Balkh must have been a fine city before the rapacity of its governors had reduced the inhabitants to their present state of indigence. The city is gone to decay; but there are some beautiful seats in the neighbourhood.

* دکن † نظام الملک

NADIR SHAH *marches from* BALKH
to BOKHARA.

AT the time that the Persian army were employed in plundering Dehly, Nadir Shah turned his thoughts to the conquest of Turan; and for that purpose sent a great number of workmen from Dehly and other places to Balkh, to get ready a thousand boats against his arrival in that quarter, some for the construction of bridges, and others for the transportation of grain. Had he not taken this precaution, he must have failed in this expedition, for the King of Turan had destroyed all the boats on the river Gihoon *; and without carrying grain from Charjoo †, to the borders of Khovarezmi ‡, being twelve days journey, it would have been impossible to have subsisted his army. He had long before determined upon this conquest, and when he marched into Hindostan, directed the governor of Balk to form granaries against

* جيھون . or OXUS. † چار جو ‡ خوارزم
his

his return. What a wonderful exertion of mind, what resolution and foresight, must this man have possessed, to have been able to form distant designs, whilst he was only entering upon the conquest of a mighty kingdom. To return from this digression. After he had made his arrangements at Balkh, and loaded the boats with all the necessary supplies, he detached Aly Kuly Khan, and Thamas Khan, to guard the eastern bank of the river Gihoon, whilst he marched with the army along the western side, to protect the boats, upon which alone they had now to depend for supplies. After passing the twelve stages through the desert, he arrived at Charjoo, where he threw over the river a bridge of boats. The next day Hakeem Ataleek *, the prime minister of Abulfiez Khan †, King of Bokhara, was introduced to Nadir Shah in public, but delivered his embassy in such a low tone, that not one of the byestanders could hear a word of it. But Nadir Shah an-

* حکیم اتالیق

† ابوالفیض خان

F 2

swered

swered with a loud voice, " Unless he
" comes himself, the operations of the ar-
" my must proceed." He bestowed upon
the ambassador a donation of a thousand
mohurs of Hindostan, twenty-five pieces
of Yezdy brocade, a rich dress, and a
horse with silver harness; after which he
told him he might depart. The King of
Turan, unwilling to make the submission
in person, prepared for resistance. The
Persian army crossed the bridge, and a de-
tachment under the command of Thamas
Khan, was ordered to scour the country
about the city, to create alarms. The
nobles of Turan, sensible of the impossi-
bility of withstanding the arms of the
conqueror of Hindostan, prevailed upon
Abulfiez to submit in the manner requir-
ed; and accordingly an ambassador was
sent to make the offer, and carried with
him valuable presents. After a long con-
ference, it was settled that Abulfiez Khan
should wait upon Nadir Shah, and that
hostilities should immediately cease. The
ambassador received a dress and other
presents.

The

The Nussuckchee Bafhy was ordered to station people, to protect the suburbs from violence; and to prohibit all persons from entering the city. By this precaution, the city of Bokhara was not only preserved from plunder, but the soldiers paid the tradesmen the full value for every thing that they got; but the distant parts of the country were ravaged by the Kezlebashes. Nadir Shah exacted from the city nothing but provisions, and absolute necessities; for being master of all the wealth of Hindostan, he looked with contempt upon the humble possessions of the natives of Turan.

The

*The interview of NADIR SHAH and
the King of TURAN.*

THE day being fixed for the interview with Abulfiez Khan King of Turan, Nadir Shah directed all his officers to appear in their most magnificent attire, in order to impress the unfortunate Prince with astonishment and awe. The Princes Reza Kuly Mirza, and Aly Kuly Khan, were on this occasion permitted to be seated, whilst the nobility stood as usual.

Abulfiez, attended by only a few of his courtiers, came on horseback from the city; but he was obliged to alight before he arrived at the royal quarters, and was conducted to the tent of Nadir Shah by Thamas Khan. When he entered the tent, Reza Kuly Mirza, and Aly Kuly Khan stood up, and paid him their compliments; whilst Nadir Shah only answered his salutation verbally, without deigning to rise from his throne. The different reception which he gave to Mohammed Shah, may be ascribed to his being
awed

awed by the splendour and magnificence of the court of Hindostan ; or to his not being then so far intoxicated with success, as to have forgotten the forms of respect due from one monarch to another. It is even possible that his breast was not yet bereft of every generous sentiment, and that he felt the double sensation of respect and of compassion. After sitting in this manner for near two hours, the King of Turan was conducted to a tent, pitched at some distance from Nadir Shah's quarters. Mirza Mohammed Ibrahim Isfahany was appointed his Meh-
mander *, or host.

The third day after the interview, Nadir Shah concluded a double marriage. Himself took to wife the sister of Abulfiez Khan; and his nephew Aly Kuly Khan, wedded the daughter of that monarch.

After the conclusion of these ceremonies, Abulfiez Khan, in token of his entire submission, sent to Nadir Shah, by Ha-

* میهماندار

keem

keem Ataleek, the diadem which he had himself worn, together with three hundred camels, two hundred horses, and twenty Persian manuscripts most beautifully written. Nadir Shah returned the crown to Abulfiez Khan, with a message that he was to consider himself King of Mahawerulnehr *. The cattle were sent to the stables; and the books were divided amongst Mehdy Khan † the Munhy ul Memalick ‡, Mirza Zuckee || and others. It seemed as if the books had been sent to exemplify the following verse of the Koran: "Those who possess learning, and do not practise what it teaches, resemble asses loaded with books." These were the only fruits of Nadir Shah's conquest of Turan, in making which he had nothing in view, but to show the irresistible force of his arms. He gave away upwards of three lacks of rupees in presents; and his military expences amounted to an immense sum.

* ماوراءالنهر The country beyond the River Gihoon, or Oxus. † مهدي خان ‡ منشي الممالك The Secretary of State. || مرزا زكي

Bokhara *, from being the residence of the monarch, is the finest city in Turan. As I was the deputy of Mirza Moham-med Ibrahim, the Dewan of the household, who was ordered to entertain the King of Turan, I had the best opportunities of seeing every thing that is curious in the country, amongst which are the tombs of the holy men celebrated at full length by Jami, in his poem entitled Reshehat †. Also on account of my office, I had a share of every kind of provisions, and fruits, that were sent to Nadir Shah, by the governors of different places. The inhabitants of Turan, when compared with those of Turkey, Persia, and Hindostan, may be said to be poor in point of money, and the luxuries of life; but in lieu thereof, the Almighty has given them abundance of most exquisite fruits; with robust forms, and healthy constitutions, the greatest of earthly blessings.

* بخارا

† رشحات

In reflecting upon the poverty of Turan and Arabia, I was at first at a loss to assign a reason, why those countries had never been able to retain wealth, whilst, on the contrary, it is daily encreasing in Hindostan. Timour carried into Turan the riches of Turkey, Persia, and Hindostan, but they are all dissipated; and during the reigns of the four first Khalifs, Turkey, Persia, part of Arabia, Ethiopia, Egypt, and Spain were their tributaries; but still they were not rich. It is evident that this dissipation of the riches of a state, must have happened either from some extraordinary drains, or from some defect in the government. Hindostan has been frequently plundered by foreign invaders, and not one of its Kings ever gained for it any acquisition of wealth; neither has the country many mines of gold and silver, and yet Hindostan abounds in money, and every other kind of wealth. The abundance of species, is undoubtedly owing to the large importation of gold and silver on the ships of Europe, and other nations, many of whom bring ready money in exchange for the manufactures and
natural

natural productions of the country. If this is not the cause of the prosperous state of Hindostan, it must be owing to the peculiar blessing of God.

G 2

Other

Other Occurrences at TURAN.

LUTF ALY KHAN *, the nephew of Nadir Shah, was sent to Samarcand † to enlist eight thousand Uzbecks ‡. And Nadir Shah having heard that the tomb-stone of Timour was a great curiosity, some pretending it to be a Bezoar, he ordered his nephew to have it transported to Meshed, along with the brazen gates of the Madreffah || or college adjoining to the tomb. Lutf Aly enlisted the Uzbecks, and also brought along with him to Meshed, the tomb-stone and gates : but in digging up the stone, it was broken into four pieces. As I was acquainted with the person who had the management of this business, I obtained a piece of the stone, which I brought with me into Hindostan to show to my friends. How wonderful are the vicissitudes of human affairs, which the Almighty causes to happen for the instruction of mankind ! There was a time, when Ameer

مدرسہ || ازبک ‡ سمرقند † لطف علی خان *

Timour

Timour * governed with absolute sway, and in order to intimidate and humiliate the Emperor of Room †, sent him the following threat : “ I will give up Room “ to the plunder of the Turks ‡; and “ will transport the soil of this kingdom “ to Turan.” And accordingly after the conquest of Room, forty camels were loaded with the earth of Constantinople, which was carried to Samarcand. When death bereft him of his worldly endowments, a slab of stone was sufficient to cover him ; and even this was broken into dust.

*The eye which seeketh for instruction, why
looketh it not into the palaces of kings,
To behold what they have suffered from the
ravages of time ?*

*The Spider is become the chamberlain at
the door of Khufro || ;*

* امیر تیمور improperly called Tamerlane by European authors. † روم The Turkish Empire. ‡ ایراک The Turcomans. || خسرو A King of Persia.

The

*The Owl keepeth watch in the tower of Afrasiab *.*

Nadir Shah had conferred upon Thamas Khan Jelayer, the government of Cabul, Peishore, Ghuzneen, and Sind, &c. provinces which he had dismembered from the empire of Hindostan. When he took his leave to depart, Nadir Shah commanded him to conquer Bedakshan before he went to Cabul; and knowing him to be of a cruel disposition, told him that the people of Hindostan were very sensible of injuries, and could not even bear ill language; and therefore he advised him instead of severity, to adopt lenient and conciliating measures. He implicitly followed his orders in conquering and desolating Bedakshan †; but being incapable of exercising humanity, he neglected that part of his instructions, and governed in Hindostan with the utmost tyranny and oppression. Thamas Khan was short in stature, corpulent, and

* *افراسياب* A King of Turan, who conquered Iran, and was expelled and killed by Kai Khosru. † *برخشان*

ill formed, of a dark complexion, with a most detestable countenance; his skin hung in plaits like the hide of a rhinoceros; and his head and neck were only fit to be cut asunder. On the contrary, Nadir Shah was tall, had a beautiful complexion of red and white, with a fine animated countenance. I have brought these two portraits together, in order to shew, that nature had not designed Nadir Shah for a tyrant; as well as to exemplify an observation of Moullevy Room *, who says, that absolute vice does not exist, but that every one is bad only by comparison,

Nadir Shah sent Mohammed Hussein † to the King of Turan, desiring that out of friendship, he would command the Kandahar captives to be collected together from all quarters of his kingdom, and sent to Iran. Although Abulfiez Khan, in compliance with the request of Nadir Shah, used all his endeavours to

* مولوي روم The author of the Mesnevy. مشنوي
 † محمد حسين

collect together the natives of Khorasan, who had been made prisoners at different times, yet many from having formed connections in Bokhara, refused to leave the country; and others were deterred from returning to Iran, by the accounts which they heard of the desolated state thereof; whilst the few who from being dissatisfied with their masters, went back to their native country, had very soon reason to repent of their folly.

Nassirullah Mirza wrote to Nadir Shah, that during the night, a chest of necessities belonging to the Hakeem Bashy had been stolen; and that he was restrained from inflicting punishment in order to discover the thief, by the intreaty of the Hakeem Bashy, who was apprehensive lest any innocent person should suffer from suspicion. Nadir Shah laughed at the Hakeem Bashy's scrupulousness, but ordered Nassirullah to comply with his humour, and to make good his loss from the public treasury.

NADIR

NADIR SHAH *marches from Bokhara. He gains a victory over the TURKOMANS. Some other events during his stay in KHOVAREZM.*

NADIR SHAH's spies came with intelligence, that a large army of Turkomans *, were advancing to attack him. Whilst he was reflecting hereon, the Kerawels † brought him word, that some of his soldiers who had gone into the distant villages to plunder wood and straw, had been taken prisoners by the Turkomans; and that from some who had escaped, had been learnt the strength of the Khovarezmi army.

Alarmed at these advices, he immediately confirmed Abulfiez Khan King of Mawerulnehr, upon which occasion he presented him with a crown set with stones of considerable value, together with

* ترکمانان

†

قراول

a Herald.

H

a mag-

a magnificent dress, three elephants, and a horse richly caparisoned.

Immediately after the above ceremonies were over, he marched for Charjoo; being greatly alarmed lest the Turkomans should seize the bridge, and the boats loaded with grain, which would have reduced him to great distress.

After a most fatiguing march, he arrived at Charjoo, and there made public thanksgiving to God. The next day the Turkomans, who had come by another road with intention to have destroyed the boats, arrived also at Charjoo, and were astonished to find themselves prevented in their first design: they, however, immediately made preparations for an engagement. Nadir Shah mounted his horse, and drew up his troops in battle array. A violent conflict ensued, and during the action, the Turkomans having possessed themselves of the ground between the river Gihoon and the Persian army, the Kezlebashes being greatly distressed for water, were nearly routed.

As

As soon as Nadir Shah heard that there was a scarcity of water, he sent for the two Sucka Bashees *, and for their negligence ordered their ears to be cut off. Then galloping in the front of the line, he upbraided his officers for their backwardness, and bid them prepare for another attack. The army, animated by his example, forgot their thirst; and rushing on with united fury, the Turkomans were totally routed, and fled towards Khovarezm. The troops being greatly fatigued, Nadir Shah did not think proper to pursue the fugitives; but returned to his camp. Three days after the action, he sent off Reza Kuly Mirza to Meshed, with all the superfluous baggage, and the wounded men.

He now wrote to the governor of Meru Shahjan †, informing him that after the conquest of Khozarezm, he should

* سقاباشی An officer whose business it is to see that the camp is supplied with water, which is brought in skins.

† مروشايجان

march by the way of Meru and Kelat * to Meshed †. That from the river Gi-hoon to the borders of Meru being a sandy desert, the army could not march more than eleven farsangs a day, so that it would take them up four days to go from Charjoo to Meru. That for the first day's march they would carry sufficient water from the Gihoon. That although at the second stage there is a large lake called Abissar ‡, yet for fear it should not be sufficient for so large an army, the governor of Meru should order about thirty Baghleyeh || wells to be sunk there. The well called Baghleyeh, and which is used in all sandy soils, is made after the following manner. According to the diameter of the well, they sink a frame of wood, stuffed with straw and grass, to line the inside of the well, and prevent the sand from falling into it. At the third stage he ordered him to make eighty wells of this kind. For the fourth day, he was ordered to dig a large reservoir, and to supply it with water, by

بنایه || آب ایستار ‡ مشهد + کلات *

making

making a canal three farfangs in length from the river of Meru. — This last stage was fifteen farfangs.

The day after Nadir Shah had dispatched these orders to the governor of Meru, he commanded Mehdy Khan also to direct him to make a great number of water bags for camels and mules, and to borrow as many more as he could find ; which were to be filled with water at the new reservoir, and sent on five farfangs, that the men might be able to allay their thirst on the march. The governor of Meru punctually executed these several commands.

I now return to speak something of the country about Charjoo, where the army halted some days. On the west is the sandy desert now described ; on the south, at the distance of twelve days journey, is Balkh ; on the north, at the distance of eight days journey, are the borders of Khovarezmi, inhabited by the Uzbecks * ; the river Gi-

* اوزبك

hoon

hoon bounds it on the east, on whose opposite banks is the territory of Bokhara. This river runs from south to north, and is narrower at Charjoo than at Balkh; on the borders of Khovarezem it is not half so broad, and is there fordable during the winter. The reason of its being so shallow, is the number of canals that are dug from it, and in the Desht Kipchack *, and Kereh Kilpack †, it is entirely expended in watering the fields; and if at any time the water swells beyond the banks, it is absorbed by the sand. Some ancient authors have falsely asserted, that the excess flows into the lake of Khovarezem ‡. The river Sihoon || (or Cydnus) which is on the east of Mawerulnehr, flows from the north of Khojend §, and Benagut **, commonly called Tashkend ††, from whence it runs towards Turkestan ‡‡, and like the Gihoon is lost in the sands. At present, the Sihoon is called the river of Khojend, and also the river of Shash |||. One rea-

بحيره خوارزم ‡ قره قاپاق + دشت قپچاق *
 تاشکند †† بناکت ** جند § سیحون ||
 شاش ||| ترکستان ††

son

son for my mentioning these particulars, is to shew that the large canals which are dug from these two rivers, are carried different ways, and so far from extending to Mazenderan, as some authors pretend, do not even reach to the lake of Khovarezm. The above information I obtained from some of the principal inhabitants of these countries. Another reason for my making this remark is, that the Sind *, the Ganges †, the Euphrates ‡, the Tigris ||, and other large rivers which I have seen, discharge themselves into the sea; and on the contrary, the water of the Gihoon and Sihoon, is entirely expended in cultivation. On the east of the Gihoon is the territory of Mawerulnehr, comprizing Bokhara, Samarcand, Tashkend, Hissar Shadman §, Kish **, or Sher-Sebz ††, Nekhsheb ‡‡, now called Kershee ||||, &c. The water of the Gihoon, like that of the Euphrates, and Ganges, is very wholesome. On the west of the Gihoon is

حصار شادمان § دجله || فرات ‡ کنک + سند *
 قرشي ||| نخشب ‡† شهر سبز †† کش **
 Khorasan,

Khorasan, of which Balkh is a dependency.

Abulhassan Beg, the officer who had charge of the boats, represented to Nadir Shah, that if the grain was left exposed to the weather it would be entirely spoilt, and that he could not procure a sufficient number of sacks to contain it. After some deliberation, Nadir Shah asked the Khanfaman *, what quantity was remaining of the clothes that had been brought from Iran to camp for sale; who answered, that there were left fifteen thousand jackets and twelve thousand pair of long drawers. Nadir Shah ordered them all to be delivered over to the superintendent of the boats, to be filled with grain. This proved a most fortunate event, as I am now going to relate. After the victory over the Uzbecks, they had formed a design of burning the boats, and had sent spies to bring them intelligence. These coming in the night, and seeing the clothes stuffed with grain, concluded

* خانسامان The Steward of the household.

they

they were men guarding the boats, and computed their number at about a thousand; and at the same time observing six thousand cavalry encamped on the bank of the river, they returned with such a report, as deterred the Uzbecks from their intended enterprize; and which if they had undertaken, they would inevitably have destroyed all the boats, when the army must have perished by famine.

After the departure of Reza Kuly Mirza, Nadir Shah made the proper dispositions for his march to Khovarez. The road being chiefly through wilds, and thickets, he was apprehensive that the Uzbecks, from their knowledge of the country, might lie in ambush, and surprise him upon the road; he therefore did not think it prudent to march without order, as is the usual practice. He accordingly formed four divisions, one of which marched before, and another followed the baggage, whilst two other squadrons flanked the whole with long lines. If any one suffered his horse to move out of the ranks, the Nussuckchee Bashy beat his

head against the pommel of his saddle. Strict orders were given to the troops, that if a party of Uzbecks should appear, not to quit the order of march, but only annoy them with fire-arms, till either they were supported by the Fouj Turreh *, or the Shah himself came up. Several times the Uzbecks appeared, but seeing the troops firm and compact in their ranks like a wall, they retired in despair. The commandant of artillery, with six thousand cavalry, was appointed to march along the side of the river, to protect the boats loaded with grain and the guns. A detached body was ordered to gain intelligence of the roads, and to hasten to the relief of any quarter that should be attacked.

* فوج طرح This seems to resemble our piquet,

NADIR SHAH *marches to KHO-*
VAREZM.

IN the middle of the month of Shaban, Nadir Shah marched from Charjoo, in the order described above. And farther to provide against any surprize from the enemy, he gave positive orders, that no one should move before sunrise; by which means, as the army could only proceed slowly in a body, they were nine hours marching three farfangs, and there was such an intolerable cloud of dust, that you could not distinguish a person close to you, but by his voice. Many were in consequence afflicted with disorders in their eyes.

After marching through the uninhabited part of the country, the army arrived at Fiteneh *, the first village in Khovarezm. The inhabitants, in order to distress the Persian army, had carried all their grain into the fort, and burnt the

* قوچ

I 2

[grafs.

grafs. The Persians, in revenge, set fire to the village, and reduced every house to ashes; asserting that there was no crime in retaliation. The fourth day, after getting through the pass of Fiteneh, the army encamped near the fort of Hazarasp *. The fort was invested by the whole army, and for two days there was an incessant cannonade: but on our approach, the enemy had filled the ditch with water, which being unfordable, and overgrown with reeds, it was impossible to storm the place; and the artillery could not be brought near enough to do any execution. At this juncture, Nadir Shah's spies brought him intelligence, that Ilbers Khan †, King of Khovarezm, and Mohammed Aly Oushack ‡, the commandant of his army, together with their families and valuable effects, had thrown themselves into the fort of Jieyook ||, where they intended to wait the fate of Hazarasp; resolved, if the Persians conquered that place, to fly to Kereh Kil-

محمد علی عشاق ‡ ایابارش خان † هزاراسپ *

جیوق ||

pâck,

pâck, whither it would be difficult for cavalry to follow them even in the spring, and during the winter absolutely impossible. Nadir Shah called a council of his most experienced officers, who delivered their respective sentiments on the occasion, upon which he deliberated, and then formed his own resolution. He ordered a detachment of four thousand chosen men, to proceed immediately to the siege of Jieyook; and Abulhassan Beg, the clerk of the markets, was directed to spread a report amongst the soldiers, that on account of the severity of the cold, Nadir Shah had determined to set out the next morning for Khorasan. The next day when he broke up his camp, and began his march, the garrison of Hazarasp came out of the fort, and rallied the rear of the army, telling them, that the reduction of Hazarasp was not so easy a matter as the conquest of Hindostan. When they had continued these insults for some time, they re-entered the fort.

When Ilbers Khan received intelligence, that the detachment of four thousand

land cavalry were advancing by quick marches to the siege of Jieyook, he saw it would be impossible to escape, and therefore made preparation to give them battle. They came to an engagement, in which, after great slaughter on both sides, victory inclined towards the Turkomans; but when the Persians were nearly routed, Nadir Shah came to their relief at the head of seven thousand cavalry. Ilbers Khan and his troops, were now driven back into the fort. Mohammed Aly, his general, left his family in the fort, and fled towards Kereh Kilpâck, and although closely pursued made his escape.

When the remainder of the army joined Nadir Shah, he ordered the commandant of artillery to lay siege to the fort. A brisk cannonade was maintained on both sides for five days; when Ilbers Khan being deserted by many of his men, and seeing the bastions demolished, thought it most prudent to surrender at discretion. Himself, his children, and many of his principal dependents, were ordered into custody. The Turkomans, in their frequent

quent depredatory incursions on the borders of Khorasan, had made prisoners men, women, and children; so that every family had numbers of these slaves, who were employed in tillage, and in digging canals from the Gihoon to different parts of the country. Some of them who had been carried away in their infancy were now sixty years old, and the long change of climate and the manner of living, had absolutely altered their features, so that you could hardly distinguish them from the natives.

The day after the surrender of Jieyook, Ilbers Khan was commanded to collect together these captives from all parts of his kingdom, and in the course of ten or twelve days, seven thousand men and women were assembled in the Persian camp. The way that I came to know their exact number was, that when Nadir Shah ordered every one of them a donation of ten rupees of Hindostan, the Nazir *, desired me to be present, to see that the

* ناظر a Superintendant.

money

money was duly distributed. After they had received this donation, Nadir Shah commanded that they should be sent to Khorasan, and maintained on the road at the expence of government. But like the captives in Bokhara, many who had formed connections in Khovarezsm, and others who were alarmed at the accounts which they heard of Iran, returned on the road; others died on the way, from the severity of the cold, and the want of necessaries; and the rest, when they arrived at Khorasan, heartily repented of their journey.

Koba Kuly *, the Jarchee Bashy †, was commanded to seize seven thousand men and women of Khovarezsm, and send them the nearest way through the desert to Mowlodgah ‡, there to experience all the hardships of slavery, after having enjoyed the happiness of freedom; and from this time the name of Mowlodgah was ordered to be changed to Jeiyookabad ||,

* قباقلي † جارچی باشی The chief Herald.

‡ مولودگاه || جوق آباد

because

because that the captives were chiefly natives of that city. A description of Mowloodgah shall be given in its proper place.

Although the expedition had cost Nadir Shah great labour and expence, without the smallest advantage in return, he was nevertheless very proud of this conquest, and gave many public entertainments on the occasion; of which Ilbers Khan and his family, had the mortification to be spectators.

The most flourishing cities in Khovarezem are Urkenj *, Jieyook, and Hazarasp.

Notwithstanding Nadir Shah was very illiterate and tyrannical, yet whenever he gained a victory, he attributed his good fortune to the power of heaven, and never failed to offer up public thanksgiving for it. And it is to this piety, that we must ascribe his great success.

* اورکنج
K

On

On the other hand, some of his officers vainly boasted, that these victories were solely the fruits of their valour, which presumption drew on them the divine vengeance, and terminated in their destruction in the manner following.

After the conquest of the fort of Jie-yook, Nadir Shah by beat of drum, prohibited the soldiers from molesting the inhabitants. The Kezlebashes, regardless of these orders, and thinking to find this place full of money and jewels like Shahjehanabad, began to plunder; but after great search, could discover nothing but grain, and some furs. As soon as intelligence hereof was brought to Nadir Shah, he sent a party to seize the offenders, and bring them before him. All the officers amongst them from the commander of a thousand, to a Debashty *, he ordered to be beheaded in his presence, and the private soldiers he dismissed with the loss of their ears and noses. The execution lasted till sunset, when he com-

* دهباشي A Commander of Ten.

manded the headless trunks, with their arms, to be carried to the main guard, by which way every one passed, and there to lie exposed for two days as an example to others. I was present the whole time, and saw the wonderful hand of God, which employs such instruments for the execution of his divine vengeance. Although not one of the executioners was satisfied with Nadir Shah, yet no body dared to disobey his commands; a father beheaded his son, and a brother a brother, and yet presumed not to complain.

A few days after the above-mentioned public execution, Ilbers Khan was delivered from the miseries of this perishable world, by being privately strangled. His wives, children, and other relations, were made prisoners.

I frequently visited the places in the neighbourhood of Khovarezm, but there are not any buildings worth noticing. The climate is very healthy, which appears from the robust make, and hearty constitutions of the natives.

NADIR SHAH *marches to KHO-*
RASAN by the road of MERU
 SHAJAN.

AFTER having settled affairs in Khovarezmi, Nadir Shah conferred that kingdom upon Mohammed Tahir Khan *, a descendant of Chingez Khan †. He then marched back again to Charjoo, amidst a violent fall of snow,

At Charjoo he repudiated his new wife, the sister of Abulfiez Khan, and sent her back to her brother with a considerable sum of money, a quantity of jewels, and a female elephant. The daughter of Abulfiez Khan being young and beautiful, Aly Kuly Khan, her husband, took her with him to Iran.

The army halted some days at Charjoo; and then proceeded through the desert, which I have already described, to

* محمد طاهر خان † چنگیز خان

Meru

Meru Shajan ; and after a most fatiguing march encamped near that city. Many of the Afghans of Yousef Zei, being unprovided with horses and necessaries, died on the march through this desert.

Meru appears from its ruins to have been a fine city ; but is at present in the same state as Herat. It was the capital of Sultan Sanjir *, celebrated by the poet Nezami †. This desert is the boundary of Meru and Bokhara ; as well as of Balkh and Herat.

The weather was intensely cold ; but Nadir Shah remained only ten days at Meru, and then marched to his native country Kelat. Each of the principal men of this place brought him a lamb and a pair of woollen socks, and received in return dresses and other presents. It had hitherto been a rule, to enter in the accounts the presents that were received of every denomination, but

* سلطان سنجر

† نظامی

he

he now indirectly ordered this custom to be discontinued.

One day, Mirza Mohammed Ibrahim, Dewan of the household, represented to Nadir Shah, that according to his orders, many articles were purchased in the markets, but that every thing was twice as dear as it ought to be. He smiled and said, "I am glad to give my countrymen a good price; pay them whatever they require."

The town of Kelat * is surrounded by high mountains, so perpendicular as to be absolutely inaccessible. On the side of Meru is a large gate, where the guards examine every person who goes in or out. This leads to a pass so narrow as to admit only one horseman at a time, and over which the mountains meet at the top, in a most astonishing manner, forming a natural arch. The canal, upon which all the cultivation in Kelat depends, enters the town on the side of Meshed, and goes out through the pass of

* کلات

Meru.

Meru. At first the course of this stream ran over a bed of limestone which made it very unwholesome, but at the command of Nadir Shah, the governor Mahommed Ameen Beg *, altered some part of the channel, and by avoiding the lime-quarry, the water is now exceedingly good. For this piece of service, he was highly rewarded. The other Kelat †, which is written differently from this ‡, is dependent upon Kandahar. In this strong fortress, Nadir Shah deposited all his jewels and treasure which he did not immediately want; and then set out for Meshed, by the road of Mowloodgah. This place which gave birth to Nadir Shah ||, and which was originally a village, is situated between Kelat and Abiurd §. On the spot where he was born a mosque is erected, on the dome of which are placed three golden vases one upon another, and at the top of all is

قلات + محمد امين بيگ *

‡ The Kelat of Kandahar being written with ق and the other with ک

|| Mowloodgah, signifies the birth-place. § ابيورد fixed

fixed a scimitar of the same metal, implying that the sword issued from hence. After those ornaments were completed, the architect was considering whether to inscribe upon the building the day of his birth or the present date, when Nadir Shah smiling, said, "At the time of my birth, there was not so much gold in Kelat and Abiurd together; what then must have been the state of my family? therefore don't hesitate about the matter, but make use of the present date." Here he also built a city upon the same plan as Shahjehanabad, but about a fourth part of its size, and a canal runs through the market place. At first it was called Mowloodgah, but for want of inhabitants it never rose to any figure; and when the captives were brought from Khovarezm to people it, the name was changed to Jieyookabad.

Abiurd is a populous town. It is also called Bawerd*; the Ash Bawerdy† is a well-known dish.

* باورد. † آشن باوردي a kind of soup thickened with flour.

After

After halting nine days at Mowlood-gah, Nadir Shah marched amidst a fall of snow to Meshed Mokeddes *, where he arrived on the 19th of Zulkeddah, A. H. 1153 (or January the 24th, A. D. 1741.)

I shall now give a summary account of the most remarkable occurrences at Meshed.

Nadir Shah being displeased with his eldest son Reza Kuly Mirza, but for what cause I was not able to learn with certainty, ordered all his effects to be confiscated, and sent him prisoner to the city of Tehran †.

Sefder Mohammed Khan ‡, the ambassador from the court of Hindostan, waited upon Nadir Shah at Meshed, with some valuable presents from Mohammed Shah, from Kummereddeen Khan ||, the Grand Vizier, and many others of the Om-

* مشهد مقدس Meshed the holy. † طهران

‡ صدر محمد خان || قمرالدین خان

rahs * of Hindostan. He received a dress, and a donation in money.

Nadir Shah now commanded that the tombstone of Timour, and the brazen gates should be sent back again to Samarcand, and restored to their proper places. The transportation backwards and forwards, occasioned a very considerable expence.

Meshed is not without its curiosities. The walls are formed of triangular bastions, which is certainly a good method of fortification, for when a bastion is attacked, the men stationed in those on each side, can assist in its defence. The shrine of Imam Moufa Reza †, is in the centre of the city. The mausoleum is very lofty, has a large dome, and is finely ornamented. The mosque, and the offices belonging to it, are spacious and well contrived. The great market was for-

* امرا Omrah the plural of Ameer أمير a Prince, or nobleman of the first rank.

† امام موسی الرضا the eighth of the twelve Imams.

merly in front of these buildings, but is now within the enclosure, and has two large gates; a canal runs through the whole. The market on the west side of the city, and where the royal palace is situated, is called the upper street, and the road through the eastern market, is called the lower street. The shrine is surrounded by three screens of lattice work; the outer one is of high tempered steel, and is said to have cost more than if it had been made of pure silver; the second screen is of pure gold; and the third, which immediately encompasses the shrine, is of sandal-wood. The story which is commonly told in many countries, that the dome of the mausoleum is constructed of ingots of gold, is without foundation, it being only covered with gilt copper, like that of Zuffer Khan's at Shahjehanabad. Nadir Shah has repaired many of the old buildings, and built some new ones. His own mausoleum is in the upper street. When it was nearly finished, a facetious fellow wrote the following lines upon one of the walls.

*There is not a song without your name;
The world is full of you, whilst your pro-
per place is empty.*

At first some laughed at the joke, but afterwards perceiving the force of the satire, they were afraid that if it should come to the ears of Nadir Shah, he might order many to be put to death in revenge of the affront, and therefore the lines were carefully rubbed out.

The city of Thous *, is now in ruins, and its decay has evidently been occasioned by the foundation of Meshed, which is only four farsangs distant.

The canal which runs through Meshed, is very clear till it reaches the city, when it becomes muddy; which circumstance has occasioned many strokes of wit against its inhabitants.

The empire of Iran †, has on the east Sind ‡, Cabul ||, Mawerulnehr §, and

ماوراءالنهر § کابل || سند ‡ ایران † طوس *

Khova-

KHOJEH ABDULKURREEM. 77

Khovarezm *; on the west, lie the territories of Room †, and Sham ‡; it is bounded on the north by Russia ||, Carcaffia §, and Desht Kipchak **, and on the south by the desert of Nejd ††.

روس || شام ‡ روم † خوارزم +
بخت †† دشت و بچاق ** حرکس §

Provincial

Provincial Division of IRAN.

Provinces. Chief Cities.

Khorasan, خراسان	هرات Herat.
	مشهد Meshed.
	مروشایجان Meru Shay- jan.
	مرورود Meru ul roud,
	سبزوار Sebzwar.
	نیشاپور Nieshapoor.
	استرآباد Afterabad.
	قوجون Koojoon.
	ابیورد Abiurd.
	تون Toon.
Irak A- gem. عراق عجم	بیش Beilh.
	جام Jam.
	لنگر Lungar.
	اصفهان Isfahan.
	کرمان Kerman.
Kashan. کاشان	کاشان Kashan.
	قم Kom.
	همدان Hamadan.
	کرمانشاهان Kerman- shahan.
	قزوین Cazvin.

Provinces.

Provinces.

Chief Cities.

{	طهران	Tehran.
	رامین	Rameen.
	یزد	Yezd.
{	شیراز	Shiraz.
	جهرام	Jehram.
	بندر عباس	Bunder A-
	فارس	baffly.
{	تبریز	Tebriz.
	گنجه	Gunjah.
	قراباغ	Carabaugh.
	نخجوان	Nekhjewan.
	ایروان	Iriwan.
{	اردبیل	Ardebil.
	شماخی	Shamakhi.
{	شیروان	Shirvan.
	ساری	Sary.
	مازندران	Mazende-
{	اشرف	Ashreff.
	بال فروش	Balferowsh.
{	گیلان	Gilan, also
	جیلان	written
	جیلان	Jeelan.
{	رشت	Resht.
	لاجان	Lahjan.

80 THE MEMOIRS OF

An Account of NADIR SHAH'S expedition against MAZENDERAN.

THE army halted forty-two days at Meshed, and then during a heavy snow set out for Asterabad, by the road of Koon, another city of Khorasan. Some rain falling afterwards, the roads were so deep, that the loaded camels were left behind sticking in the mud. In the pass of Karamlee *, near a tenth part of the men with their baggage perished in the river. The rain having continued with great violence, a river, which runs between two mountains, was now so swelled, that it was hardly possible to pass it; and it is so serpentine, like that in the Bungishaut, that in the course of the march, we were obliged to cross it twenty-three times. The rain fell in torrents, provisions were scarce, and the fatigues of the march so insupportable, that every one would have preferred death to the continuation of such an existence. The

* کراملی

fifteenth

fifteenth day, Nadir Shah crossed the river on an elephant, leaving the army to encounter the deadly river, the noise of whose waves was as tremendous as the trumpet of Israfil *. However, compassionating their situation, he granted permission to those who chose it, to remain till the water should subside; but being destitute of all kinds of supplies, they gave themselves up for lost, and plunged their horses into the river. At every crossing, great numbers of men and cattle perished; and a considerable part of the Shah's baggage was lost. After the officers and troops had crossed with great loss, it came to the turn of the camp followers. But the Almighty had mercy upon them, for the river fell so suddenly in the night, that before the next noon they had all crossed the river. After passing this river we arrived at Afterabad. It is a very populous city, but has not any remarkable buildings.

After halting six days at Afterabad, the

* اسرافیل The Angel who is to sound the trumpet at the day of Judgment.

army began their march for Tehran, by the route of Mazenderan. I was told, that the road to Mazenderan was so overgrown with trees and thickets, and the mire so deep, that it was hardly passable, till Shah Abbass being very fond of travelling thither, ordered the wood to be cleared away, and for the distance of twelve days journey, had the road paved with stone; and that he might not be incumbered with tents, buildings were erected at every stage. These precautions were absolutely necessary, because as in Bengal, here are periodical rains. In the same manner that Jehangeer used to go to Cashmeer with a small retinue, Shah Abbass was wont to travel to Mazenderan. Ashreff, which is the finest city of Mazenderan, is at the distance of six farsangs from the Caspian Sea *, and yet at night you can there distinctly hear the murmur of the waves. The people of Ashreff call this sea, the sea of Kulzum †, whereas the proper sea of Kulzum is in the Turkish empire. Mount Sinai ‡

* دریای خزر † قلزم ‡ طور Theorè

is on its shore, and it unites with the main ocean. The sea of Mazenderan is called in ancient books the sea of Abgoon *, and the sea of Kherz ; but it has no connection with the ocean, being surrounded with land; namely, by Mazenderan, Heshterkhan †, Herman ‡, Dilem ||, Shirvaa, and the territory of Kherz §, from whence, by this sea, ships bring furs to Iran. In length it is 275 farsangs, and in breadth 225 farsangs. The Desht Kipchack is also said to border upon it. It is more turbulent than the seas of Hind, Turkey, or Persia, because it is shallower, and has no communication with the ocean. Of a truth this observation holds good in regard to men, for those of the deepest understanding, are the least loquacious. The chief food of the inhabitants of Mazenderan is rice and eggs. The wheat of this country is intoxicating, especially to those who have never tasted the bread of Mazenderan, the Bang **

ديلم || حرمان ‡ هشترخان † آبگون *

بنگ ** خرز § An intoxicating plant.

of Hindostan, or the Affium * of Gaze-
roon †. The inhabitants say, that it is
only a particular species, that grows a-
mongst the rest, which has this property,
and that upon its being separated, the
remainder has no such effect. Some pre-
tend that it is occasioned by the wind
called Semoom ‡, blowing over the fields;
but this is only an idle story; for in Ara-
bia the Semoom ripens the dates, but
does not make them inebriating. The
people of Iran tell many laughable stories
of the stupidity of the natives of Mazen-
deran, and Laristan §, but these are mere-
ly strokes of wit, for certainly they are
not by any means deficient in under-
standing. It is remarkable that in Hin-
dostan, Cashmeer is stiled *Jennetnezzer* §,
and that in Iran, Mazenderan is called
Jennetnishaan **, both signifying the *resem-
blance of Paradise*, and that the natives of
both kingdoms, abuse the poor inhabi-

* افیون Vulgarly called Opium. † گازرون

‡ سموم a sultry wind, which destroys travellers.

§ لاریستان ** جنت نشان

tants of their respective Paradise; but it is no wonder, for the friends of God are always despised in this world, and are therefore the dearer to him.

After halting twelve days at Ashreff, Nadir Shah marched with the army to Tehran, through the jungle, over the causeway of Shah Abbass. It was his custom on a march, to be accompanied only by his Haram *, and the female minstrels, who sung the whole way; the army marching on all sides at the distance of about a mile; but as in this narrow road the troops could not march on either side, two men took the opportunity of concealing themselves in a thicket, where they lay in wait for him; and as soon as they heard the noise of his horses feet, rushed out like lions on their prey. One of them discharged a large arquebus, the ball of which wounded Nadir Shah in the left hand, when he immediately flung himself from his horse, that they might suppose him to be dead, and not

*  or Seraglio.

commit any further violence ; and herein he succeeded, for the assassins ran away, believing they had dispatched him. The women of the Haram screamed out, which alarming the minstrels who were coming after at some distance, they redoubled the cry, and the eunuchs spread the alarm to the servants behind, when they immediately joined the Shah, and endeavoured to seize the assassins, but could discover no traces of them, excepting a bullet that they had let fall upon the ground. From this day, Nadir Shah discontinued travelling in courk *. The Omrahs were all in consternation, lest suspicion should fall upon any of them ; and three days after they seized two Afghans, whom they accused of the crime. Nadir Shah, after an examination, was convinced of their innocence, and upon dismissing them ordered each a donation of 10 Tomans, or 200 Rupees. He reproved their accusers, and told them not to molest innocent men,

* قرق signifies *prohibition*, and is particularly applied to this manner of travelling, when every one is prohibited from approaching the Seraglio.

for that he knew very well who were his enemies. Some time after, it was discovered, that this attempt upon his life, had been made at the instigation of his eldest son Reza Kuly Khan Mirza, and Abdullah Beg *, the son of Mohammed Houssein Khan Cutchkar †, the steward of the household. After a long investigation, both of them had their eyes plucked out, and were then committed to prison. Many people believed this to have been the judgment of God upon Reza Kuly, for the following piece of cruelty. During the tumult at Dehly, it was rumoured that Mohammed Shah had treacherously slain Nadir Shah, upon which many of his people fled in the night, and spread the report, till at length it reached Iran. Reza Kuly, the regent, was so apprehensive that the people, in revenge for his severities, would expell him, and again acknowledge Shah Thamas ‡, that he sent people to murder that innocent monarch, and his son Abbass Mirza ||, who

* عبدالبیک محمد حسین خان قاجار †
 ‡ شاه طهماسب || عباس مرزا
 were

were imprisoned at Sebzwar. This barbarity having been committed without the order of Nadir Shah, many believed that he now suffered in retaliation of his crime.

On the 24th of Rubby ul Awwel, A. H. 1154 (or May 28th, A. D. 1741), Nadir Shah arrived at Cazvin. Every house in this city has an aqueduct in the ground floor, some of which are three, and others eleven yards in depth. Shah Abbass, by means of a subterraneous aqueduct, brought water to this place, and it runs through the principal market in a small canal. The people of Iran are wonderfully fond of aqueducts.

A Disputation concerning a verse of the KORAN, on which occasion NADIR SHAH gives orders for the PENTATEUCH and GOSPEL to be translated into the Persian Language.

WHILE Nadir Shah was engaged in the expedition against Turan, there happened a conversation concerning the diversity of religious sects, in which the following verse of the Koran was introduced. "Mohammed is the
 " Apostle of God; and those who are
 " with him are fierce against the unbelie-
 " vers, but compassionate towards one an-
 " other. Thou mayest see them bowing
 " down, prostrate, seeking a recompense
 " from God, and his good will. Their
 " signs are in their faces, being marks
 " of frequent prostration. This is their
 " description in the Pentateuch *, and in
 " the Gospel †." Nadir Shah required the

* توریت Towreit.

N

† انجیل Enjeel.

expofi-

exposition thereof from the head Moul-
la *, who answered, that the sect of the
Schiias †, apply it solely to Aly; whilst
the Sunnies ‡ maintain that it is meant
to describe all the four first Khalifs, there
being a distinct character for each. Nadir
Shah then asked, whether the Pentateuch
and Gospel were now in existence? and
being answered in the affirmative, he was
resolved to decide the question by the
heavenly books ||; and accordingly or-
dered Mirza Mehdy Isfahany § to repair
to the Jews and Christians, and obtain by
their means Persian translations of both
those books. Mirza Mehdy immediately
undertook a sea voyage; and from the
dread of Nadir Shah's displeasure, labour-
ed day and night to accomplish his er-

* ٭ a Moulla is a person learned in the Mohammedan
law. † شيعه The sect of Aly. ‡ سنی

Those who acknowledge as lawful the succession of Abu-
beker, Omar, Othman, and Aly.

|| کتب سماوی *Kutub Semawiy*. So the Mohammedans
call the scriptures, and reckon the Koran one of them.
They say we have altered and corrupted those in our
possession.

مرزا مهدي اصفهاني §

rand.

rand. Whilst Nadir Shah was at Cazvin, I was present when Mirza Mehdy arrived, attended by seven men learned in both books; and presented to him a Persian version of each. His mind being then totally engaged with the preparations for the war in Daghistan *, he deferred the disputation till his return from that expedition. He then called an assembly of the Moullas of both sects, at which the learned in the Pentateuch and Gospel were ordered to be present, to give testimony to the truth. After a long disputation, the Schiias were vanquished, and the doctrine of the Sunnies was pronounced to be orthodox. A declaration to that effect was drawn up, and all who were present affixed their seals to it, and copies thereof were sent to all quarters. In Hindostan it was circulated by Zakaria Khan, the Soobahdar of Lahoor, who, was in the favour of both monarchs. This decision, was evidently a stroke of policy, and not matter of conviction; being principally designed to gain the good will of

* داعتان

the Sunnies of the Turkish empire, who are so tenacious of their religious tenets, that their ecclesiastics are able to expel any Prince who offends against the divine law, and to raise another to the throne who will be obedient thereto. However they were not deceived by this artifice, and so far from becoming his friends, were unanimous in declaring war against him.

Nadir Shah, during his expedition in Hindostan, laboured under a dropical complaint, and having heard great encomiums bestowed upon the skill of Hakeem Allavee Khan *, he prevailed upon him to leave Dehly, under an engagement, that after effecting the cure, he should have permission to make the pilgrimage of Mecca.

Nadir Shah always caressed him beyond any other of his court, insomuch that sometimes the Princes, his sons, would be standing withoutside of the tent in the

* حکیم علوی خان

fnow,

know, whilst he alone was in company with their father. In order that he might travel with the greater ease, Nadir Shah sent him his own Tukhtrewan *. He always partook of whatever the Shah ate or drank, and in every other respect all possible attention was shewn him. With the assistance of God, he performed a radical cure, without having laid Nadir Shah under any restraint of regimen; and he now asked permission to take his leave, according to promise. Nadir Shah being very unwilling to part with him, endeavoured to detain him by professions of friendship, and new acts of kindness; but the Hakeem Bashy being of an irritable disposition, could not bear the delay, and at last broke out in the following exclamation. "To retain a physician contrary to his inclination, can tend to no good, and may be productive of evil." Nadir Shah convinced that it would be impossible to prevail upon him to stay any longer, at last consented to his departure.

* تخت روان literally *a moving throne, a royal litter.*

The sinful author of these pages, who from his great desire to make the pilgrimage of Mecca, and to visit the holy shrines, had entered into the service of Nadir Shah, obtained permission to accompany the Hakeem Bashy to Hijaz. Nadir Shah was then on his march from Cazvin, on an expedition against the tribe of Lezekee * of Daghistan, who some time before in an engagement had killed his brother Ibrahim Khan †. Being a brave and gallant nation, they fortified their passes, and made other preparations to repel the attack.

By the divine favour I now took my leave of Nadir Shah, and carrying all my property along with me, set out for Mecca.

لکھي * † ابراهيم خان

*The Author's Journey from CAZVIN
to BAGHDAD.*

ON the 16th of the month of Rebbý
ul Sany, A. H. 1154, or A. D. 1741,
I sat out from Cazvin along with Allavee
Khan the Hakeem Bashy; and as Nadir
Shah had issued orders to the governors
of the provinces through which he pas-
sed, to pay him particular attention, we
were well accommodated at every stage
of our journey.

From Cazvin * to Hamadan †, is se-
ven days journey. At the distance of a
farsang from Hamadan, is the mountain
of Alwend ‡, which for beauty may vie
with the mountains of Cashmeer; and the
pass through it is said to measure twelve
farsangs. In the city of Hamadan is the
tomb of Sheikh Abu Ali Sina ||, all in
ruins. In the suburbs is the mausoleum

الوند ‡ همدان † قزوین *

|| شيخ ابو طي سينا called by European authors

Avicenna. called

called Goombed Alweean *, where are interred many of the relations of Meer Syed Aly Hamadany †. Under the pavement of the mausoleum are spacious vaults containing the tombs. The descent to those catacombs is so contrived as to be entirely hidden when the pavement is laid down. During the reigns of the Khalifs of the house of Ommiah, the family of Aly were obliged to conceal their dead, as their furious persecutors would not suffer even the bones of a Syed, to rest in peace. How wonderful is the power of God! the Christians regard as a holy relick the hoof of the Messiah's ass; whilst the Mohammedans persecute in this manner, the posterity of their prophet. Here is also shewn a large building, said to be the tomb of Judah, the son of Jacob ‡.

From Hamadan we proceeded to Tous || and Sirkan §.

* کنبه علویان † میرید علی احمدانی
‡ یهودا ابن یعقوب || طوس § سرکان

On

On the 22d we alighted at a caravan-ferai, at the foot of the mountain of Bey-sitoon *. It is astonishing to see the apartments, with arched doors, and windows, and the reservoirs that are excavated in this mountain; also the statues of Khufro and Shireen † are of workmanship greatly excelling the sculptures that I have seen in the gardens of Dara Shekouh at Lahoor, and are said to surpass any thing of the kind that is to be found in Constantinople,

The 25th we arrived at Kermanshan ‡, the inhabitants of which are chiefly of the Goordzengteh ||. At the distance of half a farsang from the city, is the famous mountain of Tâk Bustân §. Out of the mountain is cut an arch large enough to admit two elephants abreast, in the middle of which is the statue of Khufro on horseback larger than life; and on the roof of the arch, as well as on other parts of the mountain, are car-

کرمان شامان ‡ خسرو و شیرین † بیسون *
طاق بستان § کردزنگته ||

ved in relievo, the figures of birds and beasts. From Tâk Buftân to Madain *, which was the capital of Noufhirvan †, and Khufro ‡, are seven stages. When we had satisfied our curiosity at Kerman-shahan, we pursued our journey; and after resting at Chesmeh Aly ||, and Chesmeh Kember §, on the fourth day, reached the village of Gilanick **, the extremity of Iran ††. This village is situated at the foot of a very large mountain, called Allah Akber ‡‡. The road from Hamadan to Gilanick is very mountainous, and in the winter is covered with snow; but from hence to Baghdad ||||, the country is a perfect flat, and the climate so hot, that there are never any falls of snow. At Gilanick, Nadir Shah has built a strong fort, which is well garrisoned. From Gilanick you pass over a desert, through the middle of which runs a river, which is now considered as

خسرو ‡ نوشیروان † مداین *
 کیلانیک ** چشمه قنبر § چشمه علی ||
 بغداد |||| کوه اسد اکبر ‡‡ ایران ††

the

the boundary between the empires of Turkey and Persia; but till the time of Nadir Shah the mountain of Allah Akber was reckoned the limit. During the decline of the Seffevian race, the Turks had encroached as far as Kermanshahan. The first stage is over this desert; our second stage was Behroze *, the third Belad-roud †; and on the fourth day we arrived at Baghdad. Ahmed Pasha ‡, the governor of Baghdad, sent out a person of rank to conduct us to the city, and during our stay we were treated with very great respect and attention.

The new city of Baghdad is very populous, and so extensive as to contain a great deal of arable land. It is situated on the east side of the river Tigris ||, and the old city is on the opposite bank. The latter is in a ruinous state, and without any fortifications; but new Baghdad is enclosed with a high wall, and bastions,

احمد پاشا ‡ بلاد رود † بهروز *

|| شط العرب *Shut ul Arab.*

covered with earth, so that cannon cannot make any impression upon the works, the balls sinking into the earth; and the whole is surrounded with a deep ditch. Nadir Shah besieged it eleven months, without being able to take it. The Kebab * at Baghdad is rather more to the south than in Hindostan.

The palace of Noushirvan, of which some of the walls are still standing, is at the distance of six farsangs from Baghdad, and 555 paces from the river Tigris.

* قبله That part to which people direct their face in prayer : towards the Caaba or temple of Mecca, to which place the Mohammedans, in whatever quarter of the world they are, turn themselves when at prayer.

The Holy Shrines at BAGHDAD.

ON the west side of the Tigris, at the distance of half a farsang from the old city, are the tombs of Imam Musa Kazem * and Imam Mohammed Tuckee †, whom they call the Kazimain ‡ or the two Kazems; and the village has also obtained the same name. These are the two largest tombs in that quarter. Between them and old Baghdad are near a thousand tombs; amongst which the most remarkable is that of Sheikh Maaroofof Kherkee ||, which as well as those of the two Imams, has a large mosque, but the establishment here is much inferior to that for the Kazimain. On the opposite side of the river, at half a farsang from the new city, is the shrine of Abu Hanifah Cufee §, with a mosque which is well attended; but those of

کاظمین † امام محمد تقی + امام موسی کاظم *
 ابو حنیفہ کوفی § شیخ معروف کرخی ||

Junejd

Juneyd Baghdadee *, Sirree Suckuttee †, Sheikh Munsoor Aumaree ‡, and Sheikh Daoud Tahiree ||, are but ill served. Here are also the tombs of Behlole the wife §; and of Mansoor Hullaj **. I asked the people how there came to be a tomb for Hullaj, who was burnt and his ashes thrown into the Tigris. They said they had heard the same story; and could not give any information about his tomb. There is also a mosque, which was formerly a place of worship, belonging to a Jew, who was converted to the faith, upon Aly lifting up a stone and discovering to him a well; the particulars of which story are to be found in many histories.

Within the new city are many tombs of saints, with mosques and colleges belonging to them. That of Syed Abdulkader Gilanee ††, which is very richly en-

* حید بغدادی

سرری سقطی †

‡ شیخ منصور طبری

|| شیخ داود طاهری

§ بهلول دانا

** منصور حاج

†† سید عبدالقادر کیمانی

dowed,

dowed, is a very magnificent building; and on the south side of the gate of the Madreffah *, or college, lies his son Abdulrezak †. Also the tomb of Sheikh Shahabeddeen Shoorvirdee ‡, amongst whose disciples was the famous Sheihk Sady ||, is a noble building, and richly endowed.

عبدالرزاق † مدرس *
 شيخ سعدى || شيخ شهاب الدين سهروردى ‡

*The Author leaves BAGHDAD, and
proceeds to KERBELA *.*

AFTER having visited all the principal shrines in Baghdad and its neighbourhood, we set out for Kerbela. Our first stage was to the caravanserai of Shoor, so called from the water of its wells being brackish. Fresh water is brought here for sale. The second stage is the town of Mussëeb †, on the banks of the Euphrates ‡; and on the same river, at the distance of a farsang, are the tombs of the two sons of Moslem Ben Akeer ||, who were martyred by Harith §. They are both buried under one dome, situated in the midst of a jungle. The third day, we arrived at Kerbela, fifteen farsangs from Baghdad.

Kerbela is a very populous city, partly owing to the late oppressive govern-

* کربلا † مسیب ‡ فرات

|| مسلم بن عقيل § حارث

ment

ment of Persia, which occasioned great desertions from thence to this place ; as well as its convenient situation for trade, since the forming of the canal from the Euphrates. Hassan Pasha *, governor of Baghdad, began this noble work, and expended upon it 10,000 Tomans, or near two lacks of rupees, but died before it was finished. It was completed by Mirza Ashreff †, one of the nobles of Shah Thamas ‡, king of Persia. The environs of the city are finely diversified with groves of palm-trees and delightful gardens. The tomb of Hussein, son of Aly ||, is within the city, together with that of his son Abdullah §; and the vault wherein are buried the other martyrs who fell with them. At the distance of twenty paces from the south window of the tomb of Hussein, is a level spot where he was killed; and on the place where he fell, is an excavation about the size of a grave, which is filled up with earth brought from the place where his tents

شاه طهماسب ‡ مرزا اشرف † حسین پاشا *
عبدالله § حسین ابن علی ||

P

were

were pitched; this is covered with boards, and whoever comes to visit the shrine pays something to one of the Kadems *, for permission to carry away some of the earth, which is universally known by the name of Khâk Kerbela † (Kerbela earth) and has wonderful properties ascribed to it; and amongst others, it is said to have the power of quelling a storm at sea, upon flinging it against the wind. In the city are also the tomb and mosque of Abbâs Aly ‡, another son of Aly, but not by Fatemah ||; and the people here believe, that whoever swears falsely at this tomb, is immediately afflicted with some dire misfortune. At the distance of a farsang from the city is the tomb of Hour § the martyr. Close to him lies the body of his mother; who having endeavoured to dissuade him from joining Hussein, it is the custom for every one who visits his tomb, to throw a stone at that of his mother, by which means the tomb has been entirely destroyed, and nothing remains but the pile of stones, which is daily

عباس علي ‡ خاک کربلا + خادم *
 حور § فاطمه ||
 in-

increasing. From Kerbela to Nejeff Ashreff * through the desert, where there is no water, is twelve farfangs : and by the city of Huhleh †, the route which we pursued is sixteen farfangs, viz.

From Kerbela to Huhleh,	7
to Zulkefel †,	5
to Nejeff,	4

Huhleh is a populous city on the banks of the Euphrates. On the same river, at the distance of half a farfang from Huhleh, are the tombs of Job || and his faithful wife, who attended him during all his misfortunes. Near to the tombs is the spring in which he cleansed himself; the water of which is remarkably fine, and it is said to be a sure remedy for the most obstinate disorders. The tomb of Job is small, and now very much neglected for want of a proper endowment. After crossing two plains from this city, you come to the tomb of Shoaib § (Jethro). Near the altar in the mosque of Jethro, as well as in many other

ذوالكفل † حله † نجف اشرف *

شعيب § ايوب ||

mosques that I have seen in the Turkish empire, there are tombs, which is expressly contrary to the Hadis: * “ You shall not bury your dead in the mosques.”

And moreover as these mosques have not the true Keblah †, but look towards Jerusalem, I conjecture that they were originally Christian churches or monasteries, which after the Mohammedan conquest were converted into mosques. This is however merely a supposition of mine own, not supported by any authority. Before we arrived at Huhleh, we had heard from the country people of the shaking Minareh ‡ at the mosque of Jethro, and when we arrived there were greatly astonished to find the report true. This Minareh is situated in the court yard of the mosque, and is of such a breadth, as to allow of a stair-case above two yards wide. When you arrive at the summit of the Minareh, you are to place the ball on the top under your arm, and cry out aloud, “ Oh Minareh, for the love of Abbass Aly, “ shake.” As I am always inquisitive after

* حدیث a saying of Mohammed. † قبره ‡ مناره

every thing that is curious, I ascended the Minareh with several others, and we all did as above directed, but the Minareh stood as firm as a rock. I then desired the Kadem of the mosque to try his skill, and upon his laying hold of it, and crying out, the top of the Minareh shook in such a manner that we all clung fast for fear of being thrown off. The Hakeem Bashy, who was standing below, was highly diverted with the sight. We were utterly at a loss to detect the trick, although we made the Kadem repeat it several times.

From Huhleh we went to Zulkefel, where is the tomb of that prophet, and those of his four successors, magnificent monuments, well worth seeing. You descend to the tombs by four flights of steps, and it is there so dark, that you can scarcely distinguish objects.

From Huhleh we proceeded to Nejeff Ashreff. This city is not now so populous as Kerbela, on account of its distance from the river; and the country about it is ill cultivated. It is very unsafe to dwell

dwelt withoutside the city, because the wild Arabs frequently infest the country to the very walls of Nejeff. The mausoleum of Aly, in the middle of the city, is a most magnificent structure, and the shrine is inlaid with precious stones. Whilst we were here, Nadir Shah sent his Zirgir Bashy *, or chief goldsmith, to cover the domes of the mausoleums of Hussein, at Kerbela, and this of Aly, with copper spread with gold, like that of Imam Moussa Reza at Melhed †. In the city of Dehly, the dome of the mosque of Mozuffer Khan Rosheneddowlah ‡ is gilt, but in a more superficial manner than these; for I had frequent opportunities of observing the work, and saw that the plates of gold were of a considerable degree of thickness. Great sums of money have been expended in digging a canal from Nejeff to the Enphrates; and they had actually cut to the distance of three farsangs from Nejeff, when the death of Nadir Shah put an end to the undertaking. The length of the canal from the city to the Euphrates

امام موسی الرضا † زرگر باشی *
مظفر خان روشن الدله ‡ would

would have been thirty-five farfangs, and it was intended that those parts of the banks which were rocky, should have been strengthened with stone and mortar; and where the soil was sandy, with copper and lead. The people of this city say, that the bones of Adam and Noah† are interred by the side of the tomb of Aly, but there is no vestige of such monuments. When Cufah was the capital of the Khalifat, Nejeff was one of its dependencies. The grandeur of ancient Cufah is celebrated by historians; but as a punishment for the wickedness of its inhabitants, there is not at present the smallest remains of magnificence, excepting the mosque wherein Aly received the wound of which he died. From this mosque to his tomb is the distance of a farfang. Over the altar of the mosque is written in broad characters, in the Arabick language, “ This “ is the place where Aly, the son of Abu- “ taleb, was murdered; may the peace of “ God be upon him.” They pretend that this mosque was founded by the pa-

* آدم

† نوح

‡ كوفه

triarch

triarch Noah; but it appears to me to have been originally an idolatrous temple. The west wall, which the Mohammedans had covered with mortar, has, through length of time, and by being exposed to the inclemency of the weather, become bare in several places, where you may plainly discover figures cut in stone, and by close examination others may be traced under the plaster. This is the only wall of the old building remaining, the others being of modern construction. Besides the wickedness of the inhabitants of Cufah, which was one cause of the decay of their city, the Khalif Mansoor having built Baghdad, made it his capital, and Cufah and Madain were deserted; and to this day Baghdad is the largest city in the Arabian Irak.

From Baghdad to Medina * is 180 farsangs through the desert, which Zobiedeh †, the wife of Harun al Rashid ‡, made passable, by ordering a wall to be built all the

هارون الرشيد ‡ زبیده † مدینه *

way,

way, and wells to be dug at proper distances. To Mecca* by the same route is 230 farfangs.

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The

*The Route of the CARAVAN from
BAGHDAD to MECCA.*

THE nearest road from Baghdad to Mecca is across the desert, by the wall of Zobiedeh *. The intention in building this wall was not merely that blind people might be able thereby to find their way to Mecca ; but it was also necessary to mark the road for the Caravan †; for the sands shift so frequently, that no path can be traced thereon. However, on account of the wars in which the wild Arabs are at present engaged amongst themselves, as well as their disagreement with Ahmed Pasha, he advised us not to think of going that road, as it would be extremely dangerous. We followed his advice, and determined to take the route of Aleppo ‡ and Damascus ||.

Previous to giving an account of our journey, I shall insert a list of the stages

دمشق || حاب ‡ : کاروان † جدار زبیده *

from

from Baghdad to Mecca, reckoning by hours, as is the custom throughout the Turkish empire. The hour and farfang will be found to be the same thing, because in these calculations an astronomical hour, is the distance that a good camel when loaded will travel in that space of time, which will be found to be a farfang, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ cose of Hindostan. Many Turks carry Europe watches in their pockets, and thereby easily calculate the stages of their journey.

It is necessary to observe, that the stages against which I have written the word *desolated*, although uninhabited, have springs of water. At these places the travellers strike a light with a flint and steel, and kindle fire to dress their victuals. Where I have remarked, that there is no water, those places are not only uninhabited, but the Caravan is obliged to carry water thither. The places opposite to which I have set no remark, are well inhabited. This list of roads I obtained, with much difficulty, from an experienced Meer Haaj, and se-

veral old camel drivers; and having a Europe watch in my pocket, I compared the stages with it, and found the account perfectly correct.

	Hours.
From Baghdad to Nekjeh, نیکجه	5
To Ribath Messiah,	
رباط مسیح -	6
To Kerabeth, قرا بته	3
To the river Mareen,	
رودخانه مارین -	4
To Kebeeree, کبیری	6
To the bridge of Banoo,	
جسر بانو	7
To Thawaa, طاوع -	7
To the Kerkook,	
بلده کرکوک -	7
To Altan Kobera,	
الان کبری -	7
To Belad Hyder, بلاد حیدر	7
To Abzirb, آب ضرب	6
To Kerakosh, قراقوش	4
To Mouffel, بلده موصل -	4
To Khaneh Khrab,	
خانه خراب -	4 desolated.
To Kosel Kobera,	
کسل کبری -	6 do.
To	

Hours.

To Dumeeleh, <i>دميعة</i>	- 9	desolated.
To Jerakheh, <i>جرأخ</i>	- 7	do.
To the town of Nessibeen,		
<i>قصبه نصيبين</i>	- 7	
To Keraweh, <i>قراوه</i>	- 6	do.
To Fej Hissar, <i>فج حصار</i>	- 6	
To Hillalee, <i>سهمالي</i>	- 7	do.
To Chah Abbass, <i>چاه عباس</i>	- 9	do.
To Aterbee, <i>اتر بي</i>	- 7	do.
To Jereehan, <i>جريحان</i>	- 5	
To the city of Orfeh,		
<i>بلده عرفه</i>	- 5	
To Char Musluck,		
<i>چار مسلک</i>	- 8	
To the town of Birjeek		
<i>قصبه برجيك</i>	- 10	
To Ahel heskee,		
<i>اهل هسكي</i>	- 10	
To Bab ul Abiyeh,		
<i>باب الابيه</i>	- 8	
To the city of Heleb,		
(Aleppo) <i>بلده حلب</i>	- 6	
To Khan Tooman,		
<i>خان تومان</i>	- 3	
To Morakib, <i>مراقب</i>	- 9	
To Muck Sera, <i>مقرا</i>	- 6	

To

Hours.

To Khan Sheikhan,

خان شيخان - 7

To the town of Hummee,

قصبه حمص - 7

To the town of Hemse,

(Emessa) قصبه حمص - 10

To Huffleh, - 9

To Mulk, مملوك - 12

To Kateefeh, قطيفه - 9

To Demesk (Damascus),

بلده دمشق - 12

To Zenoon, commonly

called Khan Turkan,

ذوالنون مشهور 5 نجان ترخان

To Vullee, ولي - 12

To Muffeeret, مصيرت - 8

To Mefruck, مفرق - 10 no water.

To Ain Zerkeh, عين زرقه - 15

To Belaih, بلع - 12 do.

To the Castle of Kitran,

قلعه قطران - 12

To Ain ul Huffee,

عين الحصى - 13

To Asereh, عسره - 14

To the Castle of Maan,

قلعه معان - 6

To

Hours.

To Tehr ul Akebeh,	
طهر العقبة -	18
To the Castle of Huckman,	
قلعه حقمان -	12
To the Castle of Zat ul	
Huj, قلعہ ذات الحج -	8
To Kaa ul Saar, قاع الصعر -	13
To the Castle of Betook,	
قلعه بتوک -	6
To Tehr ul Aar, طهر العر -	18 no water.
To Hyder Kelasee,	
حيدر قلعه سي -	6
To Birkeh Moazem,	
برکہ معظم -	18
To Dar ul Humra, دار الحمر -	18 do.
To the Castle of Ala,	
قلعه علا - -	19
To the Beer ul Ghenem,	
بئر الغنم (well of the sheep) -	5
To the Beer ul Jedeed,	
بئر جدید (the new well) -	18
To the Castle of Hend-	
feeyeh, قلعہ ہندسیہ -	18
To Mujlisseen, مجلسین -	12
To Beer ul Nisf, بئر النصف -	8

To

	<i>Hours.</i>
To the city of Medina,	
مدینه - -	10
To the Mosque of She-	
jereh, مسجد شجره -	9
To Kouboor us Shooda,	
(the tombs of the Mar-	
tyrs), قبور الشهداء -	14
To Hudeed, حدید -	13
To Bedre Hunain,	
بدر حنین -	14
To Mutta ul Miemoon,	
متاع المیمون -	15
To Rabia, رابع -	19
To Kedeedeh, قدیده -	14
To Wadee Asfan,	
وادی عصافن -	12
To Wadee Fatimeh,	
وادی فاطمه -	12
To Mecca, مکہ -	5

So that from Baghdad to Mecca, are
718 hours or farsangs, equal to 1795
Hindoostanee cofes, reckoning the farsang
to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ cofes.

Some

*Some particulars of the Author's
Journey from BAGHDAD to
ALEPPO and DAMASCUS.*

FROM Baghdad we passed through the village of Nekjeh to the city of Ser-men Rai *, commonly called Samerah †. Here we visited the shrines of Imam Aly Nuckee ‡, and Imam Hassan Askeree ||; who are both buried in their own houses, which are most magnificent buildings. The Kadems and all the attendants at these two shrines are very rapacious, and extort offerings from the pilgrims. The place where the Schiites § believe that Imam Mahdee ** lies concealed, is in the corner of a vault at Samerah. After travelling the intermediate stages mentioned in the route, we arrived at the city of Kerkooh, which in ancient books is mentioned as part of Chaldea. Here we saw

امام علي نقی ‡
شيعه §
سامره †
سرمن رای *
امام حسن عسکری ||
امام مهدی **

R

the

the tombs of the prophets Daniel * and Ezra †; both under one dome.

Moufful is a large city, situated on the Tigris, and where is shewn the tomb of the prophet Gerjees ‡ (Saint George). Withoutside the city, is the monument of the prophet Jonas §; both are large and magnificent buildings. After much enquiry, I learnt that these monuments were erected by order of Timour §, when he conquered this country. Between Kerkoooh and Moufful are very high mountains, which you leave on the left hand. The inhabitants of these mountains believe in two Gods, one the bestower of good, and the other the inflicter of evil. If any one should repeat from the Koran, " I take refuge with God, " from Satan the accursed," they would stone him to death. The village of Abzird, mentioned in the route, is inhabited by this detestable race. They do not allow circumcision, and expose their na-

* دانیال † عذیر ‡ جرجیس
§ یونس § تیمور

kedness.

kedness. The river which runs by this village, is very difficult to ford without these guides ; and they make the caravans pay very handsomely for assisting them in crossing over the camels. They are great robbers, as we had heard before we arrived at Moussul ; and whilst we were there, we saw many instances of their depredations upon the poor inhabitants of that neighbourhood. On account of the recommendation which we brought from Ahmed Pasha, and the dread of Nadir Shah, whose protection we were known to be under, we were well entertained by the governors of all the places through which we passed, and met with no molestation upon the road ; but many of the poor people belonging to the caravan were pillaged. We remained six days at Moussul, and then pursued our journey with the caravan.

Orfeh is a populous city, and has a well-cultivated territory dependent upon it. In the neighbourhood of the city they show you the place where Abraham *, by

* ابراهيم
R 2

the

the command of Nimrod, was thrown into the fiery furnace, at the foot of the mountain where the machine from which he was flung was constructed, and of which they pretend to point out some vestige to this day. Over the spring which is said to have issued from the midst of the fire, a mosque is erected, with a large reservoir on the outside into which the water runs; and in it are great numbers of fish, which will eat out of your hand, but no one is allowed to catch them. Adjoining to this mosque is the most beautiful garden I have ever seen in any part of the world. The city of Nimrod *, lay on the farther side of the mountain; but as a punishment for the wickedness of its inhabitants, it was desolated, and the road was changed to this side.

Between Moufful and Orfeh opposite to Fej, mentioned in the route, is the castle of Mardeen †, so celebrated in history. The governor having invited the Ha-

* نمرود † ماردين

keem

keem Bafhy to an entertainment, I accompanied him; and we enjoyed a most delightful prospect from the top of the mountain. Timour was obliged to abandon the siege of this place, and with good reason, for a single man placed at the summit, by rolling down pieces of the rock, might defend the place against ten thousand assailants; so that it is absolutely impregnable.

Berjeek is a town pleasantly situated on the Euphrates, and well inhabited. Shah Ismail extended his conquests to this place. Nadir Shah carried his arms as far as Diarbekr, which is opposite to Chah Abbass, mentioned in the route; and Timour conquered the whole Turkish empire. But Timour, and Shah Ismail, commanded armies, by whom they were beloved; whilst Nadir Shah is hated by his foldiers, of which I have already given some instances; so that his successes are the more astonishing.

On the first of Shawal we arrived at Aleppo.

Aleppo *. The river at Aleppo is very beautiful, the bazars † are extensive, and the shops well disposed; no filth is suffered to lie in any of the streets or lanes. The people are handsome and well dressed, so that there appears an uncommon degree of elegance amongst every class of people. The shrine of the prophet Yahia ‡ (John the Baptist) is near the great mosque in the city of Aleppo. The looking glasses which in Hindostan are called after this city, are not the manufacture of this place, but are brought hither from Europe, the same as it is with the Myrabolans of Cabul, which recalls to my mind the following story. When I was at Bokhara with Mirza Ibrahim Isfahany, whom Nadir Shah appointed to entertain Abulfiez Khan the King of Turan, I had frequent opportunities of conversing with that monarch, who was very inquisitive about the geography of Hindostan, and its natural productions; and once, when I was speaking of the fruits of Hindostan, I observed that although the

* Heleb.

† بازار a market.

‡ محي
plumbs

plumbs of Bokhara were universally famous, I had not yet been able to procure any there, that were equal to those I had tasted in Khorasan. He said, " This is
 " like your famed Myrabolans of Cabul,
 " where there is not a tree of that kind: in
 " Bokhara, indeed, there are plumb trees,
 " but not one that bears good fruit." The people of Aleppo, besides the engaging splendor of their appearance, are remarkably affable, and courteous. The following proverb is in use throughout the east. The people of Aleppo are splendid; those of Syria are sordid; the Egyptians are thieves; and the Hindostanees are the favourites of God. The environs of Aleppo contain nothing extraordinary. The pilgrims assemble from all quarters at Aleppo, and go in large bodies to Mecca with the Kafelah * or caravan †.

Hummee, and Hemse ‡, are both populous towns, and the inhabitants are so remarkably beautiful that the following story is told of their origin. When Nimrod

* قافله † کاروان ‡ Emessa.

had

had formed the design of planting a garden, that should vie with the heavenly paradise, he ordered the most beautiful persons to be collected together from all parts, to represent the celestial Hours * and Ghilmans †; but dying before he could carry his plan into execution, these beauties of both sexes settled in these two towns; God knows the truth! Hummee is situated on the declivity of a mountain, to which the water is carried up from the river by an engine, said to have been invented by some great philosopher.

From the time we left Hemse till we reached Demeshk (Damascus), it snowed frequently, and the air was very cold. The ancient name of this city is Demeshk, as well as all the territory of Syria, but now the country is more commonly called Sham, and the city Sham Shereef ‡. The reason seems to be, that a new city called Sham was built near Demeshk, whose name in the course of time, has superseded

* حور Hour, a nymph of Paradise.

† غلمان Gilman, a youth of Paradise.

‡ شام شريف Sham, the illustrious.

the

the other. The mosque of Beni Ommiah * is in the city of Demeshk, and is a very stupendous fabrick. The monument of the prophet Zekeriah † is situated near it. The bazars of Damascus are more extensive, but neither arranged with such skill, nor are the shops so well furnished as those of Aleppo. Every house has a water course. The city is ornamented with delightful gardens, the trees of which bear an uncommon load of fruit. The olive tree flourishes in all the adjacent country. Jerusalem ‡ is only ten day's journey from Damascus, but the near approach of the departure of the caravan for Mecca, would not permit me to make an excursion to that place.

From Baghdad to Damascus, we travelled north, and from thence to Mecca our course was south, passing over the desert where Zobiedeh built the wall already mentioned. The people of Baghdad pray with their faces towards the west, and in Damascus the south is their Keblah.

زكريا † بنى امية *
 بيت المقدس ‡ Bier ul Mokeddes, or the holy house.

Continuation of the Author's Journey through the desert to MEDINA.

IN the month of Shawal the pilgrims assemble in the city of Damascus, and the Pasha of Damascus is always appointed by the edict of the Emperor of Turkey, Meer Haaj * or conductor of the caravan of Mecca. Without a considerable escort it would be impossible to pass the desert; and even when the caravan is strongly guarded, and the pilgrims are very numerous, the wild Arabs hang in such a manner upon their march, that if any straggle from the caravan, they are sure to be plundered. Another advantage from the appointment of the Meer Haaj is, that by obliging every one to pay implicit obedience to the regulations for marching and halting, the confusion is prevented, which would otherwise be unavoidable amongst so large a body without a head. The following are some of the regulations

* مير حاج

for

for the caravan. Every one has his station assigned him in the line of march, which he must preserve during the whole journey. The people of Iran, and their camels, always form the rear. When the caravan halts, a particular spot is assigned for every string of camels, and where the master of them is allowed to pitch his tent. No one is suffered to infringe any of these regulations. When the stages are very long the caravan travels day and night; stopping an hour at each of the five stated times of prayer, when the camels are allowed to lie down with their burthens upon their backs: and at midnight they halt in like manner another hour. In order that those in the rear may know at night when the caravan is going to halt, the Meer Haaj lets off a rocket. This nightly halt is called Awafee *. The troops of the Meer Haaj guard the caravan on all sides; and the reason why he acts with such vigilance is, that if he conducts the caravan in safety, to and

* عوافي

from Mecca for seven years successively, the Emperor promotes him to the office of Grand Vizier *: and therefore particular care is observed in appointing to the government of Sham, a person duly qualified to fill the Vizarut †, the highest office in the Turkish empire.

When the caravan arrives at Musseeret, the third stage from Damascus, they purchase necessaries for passing the desert, which the wild Arabs bring to that place for sale: after having bought what they want, they pursue their march. The stages of this journey are longer than what are travelled in any other country, inasmuch that the camels of Syria, which are larger and more powerful than those of any other place, are fatigued almost to death. At the same time, the zeal of the pilgrims who go all the way on foot, keeps up their spirits, and they perform the journey with surprizing ease and alacrity.

* وزیر اعظم Vizier Azem.

† وزارت

We travelled as mentioned in the route, till we came to the pass in the mountains where the tribe of Thimud * hamstringed the camel of the prophet Salah †. Here the caravan discharge fire arms, beat their drums, and shouting and clapping their hands make a most astonishing noise; and the camel-drivers pretend that if they did not do this, their beasts would expire from hearing the lamentations of Salah's camel. In the neighbourhood of this city are seen the ruins of a great city, said to have been turned upside down, at the command of God, in punishment of the disobedience of this tribe to the word of his prophet. And here are also said to be the caves which they made in the mountains, to shelter themselves from the divine vengeance.

The castle of Ala is situated in these mountains. In its vicinity is the castle of Khyber ‡, which was conquered by Alij. Here are still many Jews and Christians, who believe that nothing can

خیر † صالح † شمود *

be

be more pleasing to God than the death of the pilgrims of Mecca, and for the attainment of any particular object, they make vows to murder them. Notwithstanding the Meer Haaj took every precaution in his power to protect the caravan, these assassins of Khyber robbed three of our pilgrims, and shot them with pistols. The Meer Haaj wanted to assault the place, and revenge the death of our unfortunate companions; but was dissuaded from the enterprize, by the interposition of the principal people of the caravan, who represented to him, that in case of delay, the season for the performance of the pilgrimage would elapse before we could reach Mecca.

The journey across the desert is exceedingly fatiguing, on account of the great length of the stages; and the travelling charges run very high: yet this part of the way is not without its delights, for the number of links which are along with the caravan, every camel having one, form a beautiful illumination; and the songs of the camel-drivers, called
Hood-

Hooddee *, enliven the pilgrims and enchant the camels. After all, the fatigue would be supportable, were it not for the continual dread of the wild Arabs. If I was to relate all the stories that I have heard of these fellows, I should swell my narrative to a large volume, and those who have never had an opportunity of seeing their tricks, would suppose me to be deceiving them with fictitious tales. I shall therefore content myself with mentioning only two or three of their feats, that are most commonly practised. During the night, when from the fatigues of the day the greatest part of the caravan are asleep upon their camels, half a dozen wild Arabs will get on each side of a beast that is richly laden. It is necessary to observe, that in loading the camels, all the merchandize is packed on one side, and the provisions for the journey on the other. Whilst some of these thieves are ripping open the bottom of the merchandize pack and taking out the goods, others support the opposite side with the

* حدي

pro-

provisions, to prevent its slipping off, and waking the rider, who would alarm the caravan; but the instant they have taken out all the goods, they run off, when the camel, frightened at the sudden fall of his rider, and the remainder of the load, runs about in a rage, pulling the string to get loose from his companions; and frequently in the scuffle the poor man is trodden to death *. The swiftness of these Arabs is astonishing, of which I shall give two instances. In the plain of Ārafat †, at noon, Hajee Mohammed Cazviny ‡ had pulled off his clothes to bathe, and whilst he was desiring Aka Aly || to take charge of his Kezlebash girdle, in which were 300 gold mohurs, an Arab snatched it out of his hand, and although the rogue was instantly pursued by horsemen, he made his escape. Another day Mehdy Beg Shirazy §, was performing his ablutions, when

* A string consists of three camels, on the first is the shooterhan or driver; the second carries the merchant; and on the third is this servant with merchandize and provisions.

آقا علی || حاجی محمد قزوینی ‡ عرفات †
مهدی بیک شیرازی §

an

an Arab came behind him, and seizing the ewer flew away with it like an arrow.

In the desert of Khyber, Mirza Mohammed Yacoub * died of a consumption; and we buried him in the sand.

From Ala we proceeded as mentioned in the route, till we reached Medina; where we paid our devotions at the shrine of the holy prophet, and other sacred tombs in that neighbourhood. When we had performed all the usual ceremonies at Medina, the caravan proceeded; and on the 6th of Zulhejeh we arrived at Mecca.

When I had completed my pilgrimage, I visited the most remarkable places in and about Mecca. At present the pavement round the mosque, as well as the place where the prophet was born, and the Mejed ul Gin †, are considerably be-

* مرزا محمد یعقوب

† مسجد الجن The mosque of the Genii, built on the spot where it is pretended they appeared to Mohammed.

T

low

low the level of the city: probably this is the original level, and the city may have been raised by the accumulation of rubbish from delapidated buildings: I have made this observation in several other places of antiquity. The women of Mecca wear green apples about their necks, and think them very ornamental. Ma-foud *, the present Shereef † or governor of Mecca, is a man highly respected and beloved by all ranks of people; and the pilgrims in particular, have every reason to be satisfied with his conduct.

شريف † مسعود *

*The Author embarks on board a ship
at JEDDEH bound to HOOGLY,
in BENGAL.*

ON the first of Rebbi ul Awwel, A. H. 1155 (or the 24th of April 1742), after staying three months at Mecca, I departed from that place to the port of Jeddeh *, which is two days journey. At a short distance from the town of Jeddeh, is the place where Eve † is said to be interred. The grave, which resembles a flower-bed, measures 197 of my paces. On the middle of the grave, a small dome is erected, and the ends are enclosed with wooden pales. The governor of Jeddeh is appointed by the Emperor of Constantinople; who also nominates the Shereef of Mecca, but he is always a descendant of the ancient Shereefs, who have been for the most part of the tribe of Beni Hassan ‡. If a man quarrels with another, and calls him a bastard, he

* جده † حواء Hewwa. ‡ بني حسن

is cited before the Shereef and punished ; because many of the principal persons of Mecca are born of concubines. The Europeans have a factory at Jeddeh ; but the Shereef will not permit any one of them to go to Mecca.

After remaining a month at Jeddeh, I embarked on board a ship commanded by an European captain, that was bound to Bengal.

We staid fifteen days at the port of Mokha *, to take in water and provisions, as well as to traffick. Mokha is dependant upon Yemen †, the Prince of which territory is called the Imam ‡ of Yemen, and Sanaa || is his capital. The people of Yemen are chiefly of the sect of Zyed §. Here are the tombs of Sheikh Osman Shadely **, and Sheikh Abul Hassan Shadely ††. The author of

صنعا || امام ‡ يمن † مخا *
 شيخ عثمان شادلي ** Zydeah. زيدية §
 شيخ ابوالحسن شادلي ††
 the

the *Nefchât ul Uns* * asserts, that all the wells in this country were brackish before these holy men were interred there, since when the water is perfectly sweet. It was now the month of June, when grapes, mangoes, and peaches, are common in the markets. Some of the houses are three, and others four stories high; and the house of the governor, whom they stile Dowlah †, consists of six stories.

When the captain had transacted his business at Mokha, we embarked and set sail; and passing the island of Secotorah ‡, famous for its aloes, came into the main ocean. It is said to be unfathomable, and which is the reason that no fish are to be found there. After twenty days sailing, when we had crossed the ocean, we saw a snake, at which the captain and his officers thanked God, it being a sign of our near approach to land. Three days after this we discovered on our left side, Ceylon ||, famous for cinnamon. This is a very large island, and its moun-

سبلان || سقوطره ‡ دوله † نفحات الانس *

tains

tains abound with springs of fresh water. It is now in the possession of the Europeans. We saw Ceylon four days, and on the fifth it disappeared.

Four days after losing sight of Ceylon, we arrived at Pondichery *, a French settlement on the coast, near Arcot †. They obtained the Emperor's permission to erect a factory and warehouses, merely to carry on trade, instead of which they have built a large city on the sea-shore. We remained here twenty days to refresh our crew and carry on some trade. We then set sail for Cheenaputten ‡, (or Madras) in its neighbourhood, and where ships touch, on account of its being a very flourishing place. Through the negligence of the officers of the ship, and the night being dark, we got about four cofs beyond it before morning, and the wind proving unfavorable, the ship, which with a fair wind will sail one hundred and fifty cofs in twenty-four hours, was above eight days in gaining the port, which we had

* پیلچری Pilcherry.

† آرکات

‡ چیناپٹن
missed

missed by so inconsiderable a distance. On the ninth day after leaving Pondichery, the wind coming fair, we arrived at Madras in an instant. The English have long possessed this settlement on the coast of Arcot. Here they live entirely after their own manners and customs. The women of all ranks appear in public, and go about where-ever they please, the same as the men. After finishing our business at Madras, we weighed anchor and set sail for Hoogly.

God having hitherto granted us fair weather, I was not aware of the danger of a sea voyage. But when we approached Balafore *, which is at all times considered as a perilous navigation, we had such a violent storm, that it called to my remembrance the old saying, “ That no
 “ wise man will make two voyages to sea;
 “ for in the first, he will experience suffi-
 “ cient danger to deter him from exposing
 “ himself to a second adventure.” From the violence of the storm, the waves dash-

* باليسر

ed

ed against the ship with such force, that she sprang a leak, and the captain and his officers had resolved to abandon their property, and escape in the boat at night, without informing the crew of their intention. But the Almighty, for the sake of the few righteous persons who were on board, spared the lives of the rest. The storm ceased, and the wind proved favorable, as it is promised in the divine book, "After difficulty cometh ease: and who-soever placeth his confidence on the Lord, he will deliver him from out of his distress."

After escaping the perils above described, we arrived at a channel, where if the ship's course inclines too much to the left, she will strike upon a hard sand, and most probably perish. The officers are particularly careful when they come to this part of the river; and on account of the many losses that have here been sustained by European and native merchants, marks are placed on the water, to direct the vessel what course to follow, by pointing out the places to be avoided: the mark is a
wooden

wooden float, resembling a wine vessel, which the Europeans call a pipe. Upon enquiry I was informed, that it is fastened by a rope to an anchor sunk in the bottom of the river, and the rope being covered with tar, the same preparation that is spread over the bottoms of ships, is not easily injured by the water. From Balasore to Hooghly you see about twenty of these floats. Providentially we had now a fair wind; and through God's mercy, arrived safe at the port of Hooghly in Bengal.

*A Summary Account of Occurrences
in BENGAL, and different Parts
of HINDOSTAN.*

FROM the weak state of the government of Mohammed Shah, and the factions that prevailed amongst the nobility, the Mahrattahs * of the Dekhan had invaded Bengal; and the port of Hooghly being in their possession, I was obliged to land at Frasdangeh †. The town of Calcutta ‡, built by the English, and situated on the other, or eastern, side of the river, is more extensive and considerable than Frasdangeh. There are various nations of Europeans, viz. French, English, Dutch, Portuguese, Germans, &c. Their gardens are laid out in the European taste; the trees are cut into different forms with sheers, and produce a very pleasing effect. Living separate

* مرآتہ † فرانس دانگه The French Settlement of
Chundennagur چندن نگر vulgarly called Chandernagore.

‡ کلکته

from each other in their different settlements, they preserve their respective customs and manners, without any deviation from what they practise in their native countries. They have different churches, where they hold congregations. There are amongst them handicraftsmen of every denomination; and the natives have acquired many of their mechanical arts. The European soldiers, as well as their artists, are superior to those of any other country, of which the Mahrattahs are so sensible, that although Frasdangeh and Calcutta abound with all kinds of Europe merchandize, and the distance between Frasdangeh and Hooghly, is not above two cose *; and the former has not any fortifications, whilst the number of European inhabitants is but inconsiderable, and the Mahrattahs swarm like ants or locusts, they have never made any attempt upon that quarter, from the dread that the Europeans would unite their forces

* Major Rennell estimates the Crouh کروہ

or Cose کوس at two British statute miles.

for mutual defence. “*Unanimity insures prosperity ; and destruction is the consequence of discord.*” The Europeans excel in the use of cannon and muskets, but are not skilful with the sword.

The Mahrattahs were first invited to invade Bengal, by the contest between Alyvirdy Khan * and Sirafraz Khan †, the son of Shuja Khan ‡; of which the following are the particulars. The partizans of Alyvirdy Khan pretend, that Sirafraz Khan, upon the death of his father, at the instigation of evil counsellors, wanted to act treacherously by Haje Ahmed, who with his brother Alyvirdy Khan, had been the confidential servants of the late Shuja Khan. Alyvirdy Khan, who was Naib Soobahdar || of Bahar §, upon receiving intelligence of these designs, marched from Azeemabad towards Moorshedabad, to give good advice to the son of his patron, and deliver him from the hands of evil counsellors, as well as to relieve his brother from the

شجاع خان ‡ سرافراز خان † علي وردی خان *
 Deputy Viceroy. بہار § نايب صوبدار || im-

impending danger. Sirafras Khan considering this conduct of Alyviridy Khan bold and presumptuous, marched with troops from Moorshedabad to oppose him. The armies engaged, when Sirafras Khan happening to be killed by a matchlock discharged by one of his own men, his troops were routed with great slaughter. But the friends of Sirafras Khan assert, that the whole was a calumny fabricated by Alyviridy Khan, in order to cover his real motives; for that instead of any wish to accommodate matters with Sirafras Khan, he had previously determined to deprive him of his life, and usurp the government. Whatever might have been the motives by which Alyviridy Khan was at first actuated, he now made himself master of the country, and of the immense treasure which had been accumulating from the time of Jaffer Khan *, who was Soobahdar † of Bengal, and Sirafras Khan's maternal grandfather. When he had thus gotten possession of all this wealth, he freely employ-

* جعفر خان

† صوبدار Viceroy.

ed part of it in bribery and corruption, and by adopting conciliating measures, with a wise and prudent administration, gained the affection of people of all ranks and conditions. Upon the death of Sirafraz Khan, many of his relations and dependents, apprehensive for their lives and fortunes, fled to Nizam ul Mulk *, the Nazim or Soobahdar † of the Dekhan, where by describing the riches of Bengal, having excited the avidity of the Mahrattahs, who delight in plunder, they conducted by the road of Orissa ‡, an army of these free-booters, who distressed the ryotts ||, plundered the country, and threw the government into great confusion. Frequent skirmishes ensued, in which Alyviridy Khan had many men killed, and the Mahrattahs suffered some loss; but from the fortitude and good conduct of Alyviridy Khan, it was a drawn game; for on the approach of the rains, the Mahrattahs being apprehensive of suffering from the inclemency of the climate,

* صوبہ دار or ناظم † نظام الملک

‡ ادیس † رعیت || Ryott, a Peasant.

gave

gave up the war, and returned to the Dekhan, carrying with them an immense booty.

Alyvirdy Khan, Mehabut Jung *, by making large presents to Mohammed Shah, and bribing the principal Omrahs, obtained a grant of the Soobahdaries of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, in his own name. His power in those provinces was absolute, but the Mahrattas having tasted the sweets of the first expedition, and being now better acquainted with the roads, and the nature of the climate of Bengal, invaded and plundered the country regularly every year †, till after many battles and skirmishes, with various success, it was mutually agreed, that the Soobah of Orissa should be ceded to them, in satisfaction of the fourth of the collec-

* *مهابت جنگ* Mehabut Jung or the Terror of War, was his title.

† The Mahrattas always commence their military expeditions on the Hindoo festival of the Desherah *دهره*, which falls on the 10th of the moon of the month of Assin, corresponding with part of September and October.

tions of the three Soobahs, and which proportion in their language is called Chowth *. From that time, they left Alyvirdy Khan in quiet possession of the other Soobahs.

Bengal † is an extensive and fertile country, yielding a very great revenue. The air, on account of the excessive rains, and the vicinity of the sea, is exceedingly moist.

On the 1st of Moherrem ‡, A. H. 1156, (or 14th of February 1743), I set out from Moorshedabad ||, after having resided there seven months. Being apprehensive of molestation from the Mahrattas, who were then dispersed about the country, I crossed the Ganges, and proceeded through Purnea §, and Tirhoot **, to Azeemabad ††. From the badness of the air and water, the inhabitants of Purnea are subject to chronic disorders; but they

محرم || مرشد آباد ‡ بنکالہ † چوتہ *

ترہٹ ** پورنیہ §

پٹنہ or Patna عظیم آباد †† live

live happily under the government of Seif Khan *, brother of Ameer Khan †,

Azeemabad is a large and well built city : the Ganges, with the confluence of several other streams, runs by it, and after passing through Bengal, unites with the sea. At this place also, the Europeans have erected considerable buildings, and carry on an extensive trade. This part of the country is famous for beetle leaf, which is sent to great distances : and Patna rice being preferable to that of Bengal, is transported thither, and sold at a high price,

The Emperor Mohammed Shah, having been indisposed for some time, repeatedly wrote Hakeem Allavee Khan to hasten to court ; wherefore, during the most intense heat, the sun being in Gemini, we left Patna, and travelling by the way of Benaris ‡, Allahabad §, and Ferukhabad §, arrived at Shahjehanabad on the

* سیف خان † امیر خان ‡ بنارس
§ فرخ آباد § الہ آباد

10th of Jemady ul Sany *, A. H. 1156,
(or 21st July 1743).

Throughout our journey, the Soobahdars †, and Foujdars ‡, of Hindostan, paid the highest respect to Allavee Khan, and entertained him in a manner suitable to his rank and character.

At this time Ameer Khan §, was Soobahdar of Allahabad, whither he had been sent contrary to his own desire, and the Emperor's inclination, to please Kummereddeen Khan & the Vizier **, and Nizam ul Mulk ††, who made use of this method to remove him from court, because he was a man of sagacity, and played a deep game. Being thoroughly acquainted with the Emperor's character and disposition, he used to seek every opportunity of insinuating

* جمادى الثانی † Soobahdar or Viceroy.

‡ فوجدارا The Chief Magistrate of a District.

§ قمر الدین خان || امیر خان
** وزیر اعظم Grand Vizier, or Prime Minister.

†† نظام الملک

into

into his mind suspicions against the Vizier, and the Turany Moghuls *, in order to further his own views. But their party being all powerful at that time, had him ordered away to Allahabad, of which place he had been appointed Soobahdar some time before. Ameer Khan, however, did not remain idle, but shortly after entering into a confederacy with Sefder Jung †, the Soobahdar of Oudh ‡, who with his Irany troops was able to cope with the Vizier's party, prevailed upon the Emperor to call him to court, whither himself also returned; and regaining his former influence, obtained for Sefder Jung the command of the artillery in the room of Saadeddeen Khan ||. But Ameer Khan did not long enjoy the fruits of his policy, for on the 23d of Zelhejeh 1159 §, (or 25th December 1746), one of his own servants, from an old grudge, stabbed him in the Dewan Aum **, or public hall, at the

اوره ‡ صفدر جنگ † مغلیہ تورانی *

دیوان عام ** ذی الحجہ § عبدالدین خان ||

entrance of the railing *. His relations accused several persons of being the abettors of this horrid transaction; but I do not think proper to mention their names, since, as is observed in the Koran, "Of a truth it is criminal to accuse any one upon mere suspicion." As he left no son, the Emperor had given orders for all his property to be confiscated into the exchequer †; but his troops being fourteen months in arrears, would not suffer his property to be confiscated, nor even permit his body to be buried, till they had received Tunkhas ‡ for their demands, which was not effected till four days after the murder.

When we arrived at Ferukhabad on our way to Dehly, the governor Mohammed Khan Bungish ||, was exceedingly ill. As soon as Allavee Khan had felt his

* At some distance from the throne is a railing, with-
inside of which none but persons of rank are admitted.

† Although the Emperor is the absolute heir of all his
deceased Munsebdars, yet he frequently relinquishes his
right in favor of the relations.

‡ تنخواه an Assignment.

|| محمد خان بنگش
pulse,

pulse, and learnt the symptoms of the disorder, he sent for me to his tent and said, "We must not continue here, for this man will certainly die in the course of six or seven days!" Afterwards when we heard that Mohammed Khan died within the period prescribed by Allavee Khan, I asked him whether he was able to predict the precise time of death, merely from his physical skill, or from any miraculous gift: he answered, that it was from long practice in medicine, and experience of the symptoms of disorders.

NADIR

NADIR SHAH *sends Ambassadors to*
MOHAMMED SHAH.

MOHAMMED ALY BEG *, and Mohammed Kurreem †, ambassadors from Nadir Shah, being introduced to the Emperor, presented him a letter from their master, with an hundred elephants, some inlaid sword hilts and other articles, which being made after the fashion of Hindostan, were useless and of little value in Persia. They met with a gracious reception, and were honoured with rich dresses. Some days after, they told the Emperor, that Nadir Shah had commanded them to deliver a verbal message, setting forth,
 “ that the large armies which he had
 “ been obliged to maintain, to enable
 “ him to carry on his wars in Turan,
 “ Daghislan, and Turkey, had exhausted
 “ his treasures, at the same time that he
 “ had remitted three year tribute through-
 “ out his dominions: that therefore it
 “ would be brotherly in Mohammed

* محمد علي بيگ

محمد کریم +

“ Shah,

" Shah, to assist him with fifty or sixty
 " lacks of rupees." However, as no
 mention was made of money in the letter,
 Mohammed Shah gave the following di-
 rect answer to their application on that
 score. " My brother, the king of kings,
 " when we parted, told me never to pay
 " any attention to verbal messages, but
 " only to give credit to what should be
 " written in his letter. On account of
 " the weak state of the empire, the Ze-
 " mindars * fail in their remittances
 " of the revenues, so that the expendi-
 " tures exceed the receipts : moreover
 " the letter is totally silent on this sub-
 " ject, and a verbal answer is surely
 " sufficient for a verbal message." The
 China dishes, lignum aloes, sandal wood,
 and other articles required in the letter,
 were carefully sent. However, notwith-
 standing the valour displayed in the Em-
 peror's words, himself and every one
 about him, were dreadfully apprehensive
 for the consequences, till they heard of
 the death of Nadir Shah.

* زميندار Landholders.

MOHAMMED SHAH *undertakes an Expedition against* ALY MOHAMMED KHAN * *the* ROHILLAH †.

IN the month of Sefer ‡, A. H. 1158, (or A. D. 1745), the Emperor, at the instigation of Sefder Jung, undertook an expedition against Aly Mohammed Khan, who had made himself independent in Ownlah ||, Bungurh §, and other places. He had been originally a private soldier, and raised himself by degrees into consideration, by his valour and superior abilities. He rendered many important services to the empire, but at last having subdued the Rajah of the mountains of Khamawen **, and the adjacent countries, he entertained more ambitious views, and at last made himself independent of all authority. Sefder Jung, the Soobahdar of

* علی محمد خان † روهيله The Rohillahs are the Afghans of the district of Roh, bordering on Cabul.

‡ This Arabian month corresponded that year with part of February and March.

|| آنوله § بنگورہ ** کامپورن Oudh,

Qudh, was alarmed at his progress, and considered him as a thorn in his side: he therefore carried on the war with vigour, and Aly Mohammed was on the brink of destruction. But Kummereddeen Khan, the Vizier, who was negotiating a marriage between his own son, and a daughter of the Rohillah Chief, being anxious to save him from ruin, assured the Emperor that Aly Mohammed was ready to make his submissions in person. The Emperor having been apprized, that Sefder Jung in his advice, was chiefly actuated by selfish motives; and being desirous of pleasing Kummereddeen Khan, as well as in consideration of the exigency of his own affairs, consented to the proposal. Before the imperial army made its appearance against Aly Mohammed, he had taken the precaution to send all his treasure and valuable effects to Kaim Jung *, son of Mohammed Khan Bungish. The Emperor, therefore, considering the near approach of the rains, and the dissensions amongst the Omrahs, contented himself

* قایم جنگ

Y

with

with what had fallen into his hands, and returned to Shahjehanabad. It having been stipulated that Aly Mohammed Khan should reside in some other part of the empire, the Vizier had him appointed Foujdar of Sirhind *, on which place the Tunkhas for the payment of the Turany troops were granted.

* سرهند

*An Account of the Murder of NA-
DIR SHAH.*

ABOUT this time, by letters from the ministers of Nadir Shah, and from the accounts of persons just arrived from Persia, was learnt the following intelligence.

Nadir Shah commenced his expedition against the Lezekee of Daghistan, for which he was making preparations when I took my leave of him at Cazvin. As he had conquered Hindostan and Turan without experiencing any of the hardships of war, he vainly imagined that he should also now carry all before him, and arrogantly declared that he would make prostitutes of all the virgin daughters of their great men, and in retaliation of the blood of his brother, would decapitate five thousand Lezekees: and confiding solely in his own strength, sought not the aid and favour of heaven. But the Lezekees, who are remarkable for their strength and va-
Y 2
lour,

lour, gave him a different reception from what he had expected.

I have heard from many of the servants, who attended his person, that in the wars of Hindostan, Turan, and Turkey, he never neglected his ablutions; but would then humble himself by prostrating his forehead on the dust, and make prayers and supplications to God: and that particularly during the battle with the Omrahs of Hindostan, he alighted from his horse, rubbed his face against the earth, and made loud protestations of his own unworthiness. But in the war of Daghistan, he behaved in a manner quite contrary, being inflated with pride and arrogance, neglecting his duty to God: in consequence of which, he experienced a reverse of fortune; for the Lezekees, after having made great slaughter amongst his troops, took refuge in their mountains; and thus, although in fact victorious, he was obliged to give up the war, without having committed the rapine, and satiated his revenge, in the manner he had meditated and threatened. After his return
from

from Daghistan, he staid some time in Iran, to prepare for the Turkish war. He then marched to Kerkook, and after plundering Mouffel, Diarbeker, and other places in that quarter, which I have described, proceeded to Nejeff, and Kerbela, where he visited the shrines of the Imams, and then proceeded through Irak Agem to Khorasan.

Allayee Khan, when he was at the court of Persia, availing himself of Nadir Shah's favour and kindness, employed the opportunities, whilst he was prescribing medicine, to administer also wholesome advice, and which the Shah took in very good part. The Hakeem Bashy was also continually exerting his skill to correct the impetuosity of his temper, for the benefit of mankind: and by a proper medical treatment, his disposition was so much improved, that for a fortnight together he would not order the discipline of the stick, much less command any one to be deprived of his eyes or life. And especially when the attempt was made to assassinate him on the borders of Mazenderan,

deran, in the manner already described, he did not punish any one, until he had coolly and deliberately investigated the matter. But after the departure of Alla-vee Khan, his own physicians, from the dread of offending him, suffered the peccant humours again to predominate, when he returned to his old courses; every day, for the most trifling offences, he would order some to be deprived of their eyes, and others of life. At last his cruelty had risen to such a pitch, that he had resolved to have a general massacre of his Persian troops, by the hands of the Afghans and Uzbecks, in whom alone he now placed confidence. But he was himself murdered the very night preceding the morning in which he had determined to put his bloody purpose into execution. The following are the particulars of this event. On the night of the 11th of Jemady ul Sany, A. H. 1160, (or June 8th 1747), near the city of Khojoon *, three days journey from Meshed, Mohammed Kuly Khan Ardemees †,

* قوجون † محمد قلی خان اردمی

who

who was of the same tribe with Nadir Shah, his relation, and Kufhukchee Bafshee *, with seventy of the Kukulhek or guard, as well from a view to self-preservation, as at the instigation of their commander, bound themselves by an oath to assassinate Nadir Shah ; but when the appointed hour arrived, fifty-seven of them being seized with a panic, refused to join in the execution of the plot. The other thirteen, however, at night tore down the Seraperdah †, and entering the Haram, killed the eunuch upon guard, who refused them admittance : they then proceeded to the Shah. The substance of the various accounts is, that they dispatched him with a matchlock ball, with blows, and wounds with swords and knives. It is said, that at first he raged and abused ; and then humbly supplicated for mercy ; but neither prevailing, he was obliged to submit to his fate.

* کشمچی باشی Commanding Officer of the body-guard.

† سراپردہ The veil, or curtain of the tent.

The women, with the jewel office and other valuable effects, having been sent on before to Kelat, under the charge of Nassirullah Mirza, escaped the fury and rapine of the assassins. At day-break when the principal Omrahs assembled together to investigate this astonishing event, they found the trunk of Nadir Shah lying headless on the ground, and an old woman lamenting over the head. The troops and the country people, now plundered the Shah's camp with that fury, of which he had set them the example in Hindostan, Turan, Turkey, and other places. His head was sent to Aly Kuly Khan, his brother's son, who had occasioned the conspiracy, in order to raise himself to the throne. From hence is to be learnt, that it is better for kings to repose confidence in their servants, than in their nearest relations. Nine days after the assassination, Aly Kuly Khan ordered the body to be removed to Meshed, where it was buried on the fifteenth day, in the mausoleum which Nadir Shah had prepared for himself.

A va-

A variety of contemptible anagrams were made of the letters which form the date of his death *, and amongst the rest the following: “ *In fire, in hell, with his grandfather, and father †.*”

The date of his accession to the throne may be thus expressed. “ *It is good, in what has happened ‡.*”

To speak the truth, Nadir Shah was a brave and experienced soldier, possessed of an acute, discriminating understanding, with activity, resolution, and foresight; he knew very well how to conquer, and to make himself obeyed, but he was totally ignorant of the true principles of government, for the prosperity of a kingdom; and the impetuosity of his temper, his cruelty and hardness of heart, made his name universally abhorred and detested. From a verse of Sheikh Mohammed

* Every letter in the Arabick alphabet, has a numerical value.

‡ النخير في ما وقع Aly	† في النار والسقر مع الجد واليدر Z
--------------------------------------	--

Aly Hazeen *, it should seem that Nadir Shah's grandfather, Imam Kuly Beg †, was a skinner: however, as it has been observed by a respectable personage, we ought not, on this occasion, to give entire credit to the poet's assertion, since he was an enemy to the Shah, and fled into Hindostan from the dread of him. His age has not been exactly ascertained, for want of his horoscope. From the appearance of his countenance, the strength of his limbs, and the vigour of his faculties, he did not seem to be above fifty years of age. Some fix his birth in A. H. 1099, (or A. D. 1687); and I have somewhere seen it written, that he was born on the 27th of Ramzan 1102, or 13th June 1691. His beard was quite white, and he used to have it dyed black regularly twice a week. Having lost all his double teeth, he seldom eat food that required much mastication, and when he did, swallowed it without chewing. His front teeth were all sound and firm in his head.

* شيخ محمد علي حزين
since at Benaris.

This excellent Poet died a short time

† امام قلی بیگ

After

After the death of Nadir Shah, his nephew Aly Kuly Khan, with the assistance of Thamas Khan Jelayer, and others of the nobility, mounted the throne, and assumed the title of Aly Shah. He got possession of ten crores * of rupees in money, with gold and silver bullion, and jewels to an incredible amount, with the peacock throne, and other riches, which Nadir Shah had deposited in Kelat. He put to death all the sons and grandsons of Nadir Shah, excepting Sharokh Mirza, the son of Reza Kuly Mirza, by a daughter of Sultan Hussein. He appointed his own younger brother Ibrahim Khan, his viceroy.

* One hundred thousand is one lack لک, one hundred lacks are one crore ذکرو and one hundred crores are one arrib ارب

*Transactions at LAHOOR, after the
death of ZEKARIA KHAN.*

JUST before the murder of Nadir Shah, died Zekaria Khan the Soobahdar of Multan, who had married the sister of Kummereddeen Khan. The Naib Soobahdary was immediately conferred upon Meer Momin Khan *, and shortly after Yahia Khan †, the eldest son of Zekaria Khan, was appointed Soobahdar, through the interest of Kummereddeen Khan, whose daughter he had married. But before his arrival at Laheer, his younger brother Hyatullah ‡, to whom Nadir Shah had given the title of Shahnowaz Khan ||, having raised a large army, marched against him, and took him prisoner, and thereby got entire possession of all their deceased father's estate. Shahnowaz Khan erased from his own seal the words, "*devoted servant of Mohammed*

حیات الله ‡ یحیی خان † میر مومن خان *
شاه نواز خان ||

Shah,"

Shah," and in their place substituted this verse: *or about betwixt them and believ*

"O Lord thou art witness of my intention ;

*" Since my inclination is good, bestow good upon me *."*

In the border of the seal, instead of the Emperor's ancestors, he caused to be engraven the names of the twelve Imams, having abandoned the faith of the Sunnies, and embraced that of the Schias. When he had made himself master of the city of Lahoor, he extorted considerable sums of money from his father's officers; settled the revenues of the country, and took measures for continuing the war. Kummereddeen Khan used entreaties and threats, to obtain the enlargement of Yahia Khan, but in vain. However, it was shortly after effected, by the contrivance of their aunt, with the assistance of some other ladies of the family. They placed Yahia Khan in a tray, and covering it up, had it conveyed from an entertainment as a service of victuals ; and he

الهي تو بر نيستم آگهي چو نيت بخير است خيرم دهي *

having

having thus regained his liberty, travelled by unfrequented roads to Shah-jehanabad. When Shahnawaz Khan discovered the trick that had been played, he punished all the accomplices of the plot; but he forgot his resentment against his aunt, upon her making the following sensible and affectionate declaration, " Had
 " circumstances been reversed, said she,
 " and you the prisoner instead of Yahia
 " Khan, I should have exerted all my en-
 " deavours to have set you at liberty;
 " for the heart of a parent feels most af-
 " fection for the child who is in adversity.
 " I am now in your power, dispose of
 " me as you may think proper." Shahnawaz Khan, charmed at her goodness of heart, and sagacity, gave her no further trouble.

Shahnawaz Khan, who persuaded himself that the Vizier would not proceed to hostilities, whilst his son-in-law was in confinement, now that he had escaped, began to be alarmed for his own safety. To add to his distress, Ahmed Shah *

* احمد شاه

Abdallee,

KHOJEH ABDULKURREEM. 175

Abdallee *, upon hearing of the contest between the brothers, marched to Laahoor.

* ابدالي

The

*The Exaltation of AHMED SHAH
ABDALLEE. He invades HIN-
DOSTAN.*

AHMED KHAN, the son of Moham-
med Zeman Khan Seldoze *, a
native of Herat, is one of the chiefs of
his tribe; on which account, Nadir Shah
always kept a watchful eye over him;
but the officers of all ranks, treated him
in private with great respect: and on the
day that Nadir Shah was killed, they de-
clared for Ahmed Shah. The Kezle-
bashies attempted to crush him, but he e-
luded all their designs, and by the advice
of Mohammed Sabir †, a derveish, pro-
claimed himself king at Kandahar. Be-
fore he came to that place, Mohammed
Khan Shirazy ‡, the Beglerbeghy || of
Cabul, Peishore, and Sind, accompanied
by Nassir Khan §, arrived in that neigh-

* محمد زمان خان سلدوز † محمد صابر
‡ محمد خان شیرازی || بلکر بیگی Governor,
§ ناصر خان

bourhood,

bourhood, with thirty lacks of rupees, which they had collected from those provinces, and were carrying to Nadir Shah: but upon the intelligence of his death, Nour Mohammed Khan *, and other neighbouring chiefs, divided the money amongst them. Ahmed Shah ordered them into custody, and made them refund the money, which enabled him to raise troops, and make other preparations for conquest. Ahmed Shah proclaimed himself king in Kandahar, in the same year that Nadir Shah was killed. Mohammed Tuckee Khan † was one of his principal Omrahs. When he had settled the revenues of Kandahar, Cabul, and Peishore, and appointed officers to collect the duties and tribute, he set out upon the conquest of Hindostan, at the head of twelve thousand men. He crossed the river Attock, and plundered all the way to Lahoor.

Shahnowaz Khan threw up an intrenchment, mounted cannon on the

* نور محمد خان † محمد تقی خان

A a

ramparts

ramparts of the fort, and prepared to make a vigorous defence. Baba * Sabir, the derveish, went into the city of La-hoor, to visit the holy shrines, and see his mother, who resided there; as well as to endeavour to prevail upon the governor to surrender: but lost his life in the attempt. I shall relate the particulars, in the manner they were told me by Mohammed Yar Khan †, Ahmed Shah's mint-master, who was intimately acquainted with the derveish. Baba Sabir, a handsome youth, was the son of a farrier of Lahoor, and having an early inclination to abandon worldly pursuits, left his own country when very young, and travelled to Cabul, Kandahar and Herat. A short time before the murder of Nadir Shah, Baba Sabir was pitching a little tent, and playing like a boy, when they asked him, "Derveish, what are you about?" He answered, "The kingdom of Nadir Shah being at an end, I am setting up the tent of Ahmed Shah." After the death of Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah having ob-

* *بابا*. *Father*, is a title give to mendicants.

tained a kingdom as the derveish had predicted, whatever he asserted afterwards gained universal credit. By his advice, Ahmed Shah assumed the title of *Door-dowran* *, or the *pearl of the age*; from whence he and his Abdallees were afterwards called *Dooranee*. When they came to Lahoor, the derveish insisted upon going to the city, notwithstanding all Ahmed Shah's endeavours to dissuade him from so rash an undertaking. He accordingly set out, attended by Mohammed Yar Khan. When he entered the city of Lahoor, the spies of Shahnawaz Khan brought intelligence, that the magician of Ahmed Shah was come with intention to bewitch all the cannon: He was accordingly seized, and brought before Shahnawaz Khan, who at the intercession of Adeeneh Beg Khan †, received him with civility and respect: but not consenting to the derveish's proposal of surrendering himself to Ahmed Shah, Sabir behaved with such insufferable insolence, that he and Mohammed Yar Khan were com-

* ادینه بیک خان + در دوران

mitted to prison. The next day Shahnowaz Khan's courtiers persuading him, that he would bring misfortune upon himself by suffering Sabir the magician to live, he gave orders for him to be put to death, and the sentence was executed in a cruel manner. But Mohammed Yar Khan, at the interposition of some of the courtiers of Shahnowaz Khan, to whom he had formerly rendered good offices, was set at liberty. Ahmed Shah was so enraged at the death of his spiritual guide and ambassador, that he instantly crossed the Rawee * to attack the enemy's intrenchments, when the Moghuls were seized with terror, and fled. Shahnowaz Khan, in despair at the desertion of his Moghuls, on whom he had placed his chief confidence, hastened to Dehly with his jewels and all his gold. However, Kummerdeen Khan was so much enraged at his former conduct, that he ordered him into custody. The fortune of this man verified the old proverb, *Whosoever diggeth a pit for his brother, shall fall therein himself.*

* راوي

Shahnowaz

KHOJEH ABDULKURREEM. 181

Shahnowaz Khan fled from Lahoor in the month of Moherrem 1161, (or Jan. A. D. 1747) Thus Ahmed Shah, without striking a blow, got possession of that city. For above a month after, he was continually extorting large sums of money from the inhabitants, and his army acted conformably to the words of the poet Sady, " If the king ordereth only half an egg to be taken by force ; his army will stick a thousand fowls upon their spits."

I shall leave Ahmed Shah plundering Lahoor, and proceed with my narrative.

The

The Prince SULTAN AHMED *marches to oppose* AHMED SHAH DOORANY.

AS from the Emperor's weak state of health, it would have been very inconvenient for him to have taken the field, the principal nobility advised him to send his son Sultan Ahmed * to act against the Dooranees; and represented that provided the prince went with the army, not one of the Omrahs would ask any supplies of money, or grants of jageer; but that if he sent an army without the prince, there would be required immediately sixty lacks of rupees for the troops of the Omrahs, besides new grants of jageers. The Emperor, however, had such an affection for his son, that he could not be prevailed upon to part with him at that time; but rather consented to exhaust his treasury, by issuing sixty lacks of rupees amongst the troops of Kummereddeen Khan, Sefder Jung, Zulfecar Jung, Ra-

* سلطان احمد

jah

jah Isseree Singh *, son of Jysingh †, Saadeddeen Khan ‡, Bukht Singh ||, and other Omrahs : and after granting additional jageers, ordered the army to proceed against the enemy.

When they arrived at Suniput §, intelligence was received, that Ahmed Shah was levying a large army at Lahoor, with design of marching to Dehly. The intelligence occasioned general consternation, from the dread that the same enormities which they had experienced from Nadir Shah, would be committed over again. Salabut Khan ** and Zulfecar Khan returned to the Emperor, and convinced him of the necessity of encouraging the troops, by the presence of the prince. Sultan Ahmed accordingly proceeded to Suniput, with a fourth part of the imperial troops, and Zulfecar Jung was appointed his Ataleek †† or tutor. Rajah Isseree Singh,

سعد الدین خان ‡ جی سنگہ † ایسری سنگہ *
صلاہت خان ** سوئی پت § بخت سنگہ ||
تالیق ††

taking

taking advantage of the posture of affairs, applied for the command of the castle of Rinthore *, and in hopes of succeeding staid behind: but Kummereddeen Khan, and Sefder Jung, positively objected to the measure, from the persuasion that if such an important fortress got into the hands of the Rajpoots, it would be impossible again to dispossess them: they at the same time told the Rajah's agent, that if his master did not choose to join the army, he might return to his own country. Issere Singh being at enmity with his brother, who is married to a daughter of the Ranna †, and as other Zemin-dars were also ill disposed towards him, he thought it most prudent not to displease the Emperor, and accordingly joined the army.

Amongst the Omrahs who accompanied the Shahzadeh ‡, were the following, Kummereddeen Khan the Vizier, with his two sons, and the Turany Moghuls,

* رنٲور † رانا
‡ شاهزاده The King's Son, the Prince.

his

his dependents, Janish Khan *, Ahmed Zeman Khan †, Mohammed Atta Khan ‡, and Sefder Jung, with a few troops, and Isseree Singh, with a body of Rajpoots in saffron-coloured dresses. A person staining his clothes with saffron before he goes to battle, indicates that he is resolved to conquer or die ; but this cowardly boaster, fled in the beginning of the action. Under the prince's standard marched also Nassir Khan ||, who had been formerly Soobahdar of Peishore ; and Mohyeddeen Aly Khan. The following great Omrahs remained with the Emperor : Ghazyeddeen Khan §, Intezam ed-dowlah **, son of Kummereddeen Khan, Jilaleddeen Hyder Khan ††, son of Sefder Jung, Ishak

* احمد زمان خان † جانش خان

‡ ناصر خان || محمد عطا خان

§ انتظام الدوله ** غازي الدين خان

†† جلال الدين حيدر خان afterwards the Nawab

نواب شجاع الدوله, Shuja ed-dowlah,

Khan *, Dewan of the Khalseh †, or
exchequer, Saadeddeen Khan, Khanfa-
man ‡, or steward of the household,
Abdulmejeed Khan Mejdeddowlah ||, and
Rajah Bukht Sing Rathore §.

* اسحق خان † خالصه

‡ خاتسان †† عید امجد خان محمد الدوله

§ راجپور a particular tribe of Rajpoots.

The defeat of the ABDALLEES.

AFTER a consultation of the principal Omrahs, it was determined, that the army should advance beyond the plain of Karnal *, which had proved so unfortunate to the troops of Hindostan, in the action with Nadir Shah ; they therefore proceeded to the ferry of Matcheewarh †, and encamped on the banks of the Setluje ‡. Here they received intelligence, that Ahmed Shah, after crossing the Rawee, had gone to Sirhind, and was now possessing himself of all the treasure and effects in that quarter : upon which the Shahzadeh with the army, turned back again, and marched towards Sirhind. When they arrived within four coss of Sirhind, a cannonading commenced on both sides, which was repeated for sixteen days, till the 22d of Rebbi ul Awwel, A. H. 1161, (or 10th March 1748), when both armies

* کرنال

† ماچھی وارہ

‡ ستلج

drew up in order of battle. Kummered-deen-Khan was sitting in his tent after having performed his prayers, intending to proceed shortly to action, when a cannon-ball from the enemy, struck him on the side, and deprived him of life. His son Maayen ul Mulk *, immediately informed the Shahzadeh and Sefder Jung of this dire event; and after calling together the officers of his deceased father's troops, represented to them the necessity of keeping his death secret from the army; assured them of his resolution to conquer or perish in the action, and desired that those who were not hearty in the cause would retire. They were all animated by his example, and promised to support him at the expence of their lives: then having caused it to be reported, that the Vizier not choosing to stir abroad that day, had appointed his son to act in his stead, Maayen ul Mulk mounted his elephant, and led on the troops to the charge. The Abdallees sustained the attack with valour; and the contest was bloody and

* معین الملک

obli-

obstinate on both sides. Maayen ul Mulk displayed great military skill and intrepidity. Janish Khan was killed. The Abdallees were now gaining the advantage, owing to the desertion of Issere Singh, and his troops, which left one of the flanks of the imperial army entirely exposed to the enemy, till Sefder Jung advanced to its support; Maayen ul Mulk renewed the attack, the enemy suffered great slaughter, and at length were obliged to retreat. On account of the death of the Vizier, the Shahzadeh did not think proper to pursue the enemy, but encamped on the banks of the Setluje, where we will now leave him.

*The death of MOHAMMED SHAH.
A summary Account of his An-
cestors.*

I HAVE heard from well-informed persons, that the descendents of Ameer Timour, had not fully established their empire in Hindostan, till the middle of the reign of Akber, and his attention was so much given to temporal affairs, that he neglected spiritual concerns. The wise administration of Alumgeer, gave splendour to religion, and from his judicious regulations the government obtained full vigour. This monarch, who introduced the collection of Jezyah * in Hindostan, besides being pious, was learned, wise, and active in business: but the wars which ensued amongst his sons and grandsons, after his death, weakened the empire, and brought on its decline: in these bloody contests for the empire, perished all the old and experienced servants of the crown. Summarily, after

* جرية. Capitation tax levied from infidels.

the death of Alumgeer, bloody battles were fought between his sons Bahadre Shah, Azem Shah, and Sultan Kam-bukhs * . By the will of heaven Bahadre Shah obtained the kingdom, and assumed the title of *Shah Alum*, or *king of the world* : he was pious, learned, courteous, and munificent to a fault ; and had a numerous family. During the life-time of his father, he had made a vow, that if he should afterwards be king, he would gratify the desire of every one ; and by a religious performance of this engagement, so incompatible with the laws of government, by excessive largesses and immense gifts, he exhausted the treasures accumulated by Shahjehan, and which his father had so greatly augmented. Nevertheless, out of regard to the nobleness of his designs, and his personal valour, the Omrahs, the army, the governors of provinces, and the Zemindars, respected his authority, and were ever dutiful, and obedient to his commands. On his demise, new wars broke out between

* کام بخش

his

his sons Moezeddeen *, Azeem us Shan †, Raffieh us Shan ‡, and Jehan Shah §. Moezeddeen gained the throne, and took the title of *Jehandar Shah*, or *the possessor of the world*. He was very robust, possessed courage, and military skill; but he had reigned only eight months, when his nephew Ferukhseer, came from Bengal, and took him prisoner in battle; and to the utter disgrace of the victor, he was put to death in a cruel manner. Shortly after, Zulfecar Khan experienced the like fate. Ferukhseer, owing his exaltation to the two Syed brothers Hussein Aly Khan §, and Abdullah Khan **, loaded them with honours; but happening at last to displease them, they deprived him of his crown and life. Hussein Aly Khan, who was Meer Bukhshee ††, and Soobahdar of the Dekhan, taking advantage of the misunder-

* معز الدين † عظیم الشان

‡ رفیع الشان § جهان شاه

§ حسین علیخان ** عبداللہخان

†† میر بخشہ Pay-master General.

standing

standing between his brother and Ferukhfeer, carried with him a pretender to the throne in a covered carriage. When he arrived at Dehly, he neglected to wait upon the Emperor, and after having alarmed his fears to the utmost, openly declared, that it was his intention to sacrifice the pretender to the Emperor's pleasure, by delivering him up at the first interview. After a long negotiation, it was agreed, that Hussein Aly Khan should make his own arrangements, in the government, and then come and pay his respects to the Emperor. He accordingly entered the fort, and sent his own men into the Haram, from whence they dragged out Ferukhfeer, and carried him to prison. In order to preserve the appearance of royalty, the brothers raised to the throne, Raffeih ul Dirjat *, son of Raffeih us Shan. Having now effectually resumed all the power of the government, the office of Vizier was conferred upon Abdullah Khan, and that of Meer Bukhshee upon Hussein

* رفيع الدرجات

C c

Aly

Aly Khan, as before. Some people assert, that the following verses were written by Ferukhseer whilst in prison: but others attribute the composition to his tutor, and say that he only repeated them.

*The heart is intoxicated with madness ;
give it not wine.*

*It is habituated to fire ; give it not wa-
ter.*

*To every one who enquireth after the con-
dition of my heart ;*

*Breathe only a sigh upon the lip, give
him no answer *.*

A few days after, Ferukhseer was destroyed by poison: in order to be sure he was dead, they cut the soles of his feet, and then buried him.

* دل مست جنونست شرابش مدید
خوکرده آتش است آبش مدید
هر کس که ز احوال دل ما پرسد
آهی بلب آرید و جوابش مدید

Raffick

Raffeih ul Dirjat being of a weak constitution, and much addicted to drinking an infusion of poppy heads, reigned only three months and eleven days. Abdullah Khan and his brother then raised to the throne his brother Raffeih-ed-dowleh, and gave him the title of Shahjehan. They made him march from Agra to oppose Naikoseer*, who had been set up in opposition by Metresain †, and others. Naikoseer was taken prisoner, Shahjehan being sickly, like his brother, and addicted to the same intemperance, soon descended from the throne into the coffin.

At the death of Shahjehan, his brother Roshen Akhter ‡ was taken out of confinement at Dehly, and placed on the throne in the beginning of Zekahdeh A. H. 1131 (or in October 1719), with the title of Mohammed Shah. The grand entertainment which he gave on Sunday the 9th of Shawal 1133 (or July 22d 1721), was

* نیکوسیر † مترسین

‡ روشن اختر The bright star.

on account of some astrological prediction. Mohammed Shah being at that time a very beautiful youth, a respectable poet made the following lines upon the circumstances of his accession.

*It was a bright star, now it has become the moon *.*

Joseph † came out of prison, and was King ‡.

The ministers settled it, that during the seven months of Raffeih ul Dirjat and Raffeih - ed - dowlah the throne should be considered as having been vacant, and that time be added to the reign of Mohammed Shah, whereby they place his accession on the 1st of Rebbi ul Awwel, which extends his reign to 30 years ; whereas it was only twenty-nine years and six months.

* Joseph is called by the Eastern Poets, *the Moon of Egypt*.

† According to the Koran Joseph was King of Egypt.

‡ روشن اختر بود آگین ماه شد
یوسف از زندان برآمد شاه شد

Huffein

Hussein Aly Khan, in order to be revenged upon Nizam ul Mulk, for having defeated and slaughtered his troops, made Mohammed Shah march against him on the 27th of Zilhejeh (or 18th Oct. 1720) in the second year of his reign. During the expedition, Meer Hyder Khan *, at the instigation of Mohammed Ameen Khan †, pretending to have received injuries from him, presented a false petition on the subject to Hussein Aly Khan, and whilst he was reading it, stabbed him with a knife; and repeated the blow till he expired; but the assassin was instantly cut to pieces. Mohammed Shah soon after gave up the expedition and returned towards Dehly, in order to oppose Abdullah Khan, who upon the news of his brother's assassination, took out of prison Sultan Ibraheem ‡, son to Raffeih us Shan, and declared him Emperor; and was marching at the head of a large army to take vengeance on the murderers of his brother. On Friday the 13th of Moherrem, in the 2d

* میرحیدرخان † محمد امین خان
‡ سلطان ابراہیم

year

year of the reign, (or 2d November 1720), a battle was fought, when Abdullah Khan being made prisoner, Mohammed Ameen Khan was appointed Vizier in his stead. Six weeks after his promotion, Mohammed Ameen Khan died a natural death, when the Emperor wanted to confer the Vizarut upon Khandowran, but the Turany Moghuls being dissatisfied with him, raised a tumult, when Enayutullah * Khan †, universally respected for his integrity and abilities, was made deputy Vizier, and Nizam ul Mulk grand Vizier; and when the latter came to Dehly, he was formally invested with the office, by receiving a khelut ‡, or dress, and ther honorary distinctions. But afterwards, differences happening between the Emperor and Nizam ul Mulk, the Vizarut was bestowed upon Kummereddeen Khan, on the 2d of Zekahdeh, in the sixth year of the reign, (or 11th July 1724). The Emperor from this time delivered

* خاندوران

† خلعت ‡ عنایت الله خان

himself

himself up to indolence and pleasure, till the invasion of Nadir Shah changed his joy into sorrow. During the reign of Mohammed Shah, there were continual diffensions amongst the Omrahs; so that whenever one began a business properly, some other, in order to promote his own selfish views, would be sure to counteract and frustrate his good intentions. The Emperor all the while looked on without daring to interfere, from the apprehension of experiencing the fate of Ferukh-seer and the two Syed. But what was worse than the feuds amongst the Omrahs, they had formed connections with the Zemindars; each Ameer in his turn, insinuating that if another ventured to rebel, he could be crushed by means of some particular Zemindar, the Emperor was thereby prevailed upon to strengthen one after another, till at length the Zemindars got possession of the whole power of the empire, and the Omrahs sunk into insignificance. It is, however, but just to observe, that those evils did not result from any peculiar depravity in the present nobility, but were the natural effects
of

of a feeble government, when the authority of the monarch being treated with contempt, cabals and dissensions invariably arise amongst the nobility, and in their consequences are the ruin of the empire.

I have been told, that Mohammed Shah in his youth was of a robust make, and possessed a very good understanding; but in the latter part of his life, from sickness, and the constant use of opium, his mind, and his whole frame, were weak and debilitated. He was born on Friday, the 23d of Rebbi ul Awwel, A. H. 1114, (or 5th August 1702), in the neighbourhood of Ghuzneen; and died at Dehly on the 27th of Rebbi ul Sany 1161, (or 14th April 1748.

A CHRO-

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE of the DESCENDENTS of TIMOUR, who have

reigned in Hindostan.

Began to Reign.	A.H.	A.D.		Reigned.
933	1526		Zeheereddeen (a) Mohammed Bâber, ظهير الدين محمد بابر (in Hindostan).	<u>Y. M. D.</u> 4 9 15
937	1530		Neffereddeen (b) Mohammed Hemayun, نصير الدين محمد همايون	25 10 5
964	1556		Jillaleddeen (c) Mohammed Akber, جلال الدين محمد اكبر	31 9 9
1014	1605		Noureddeen (d) Mohammed Jehangeer (e), نور الدين محمد جهانگیر	22 10 13
1038	1628		Shahabeddeen (f) Mohammed Shahjehan (g), شهاب الدين محمد شاه جهان	31 4 0
1069	1658		Mohyeddeen (h) Mohammed Aurungzebe (i) Alungeer (k), محي الدين محمد اورنگ زیب عالمگیر	50 2 4

(a) The supporter of religion.

(d) The light of religion.

(f) The King of the world.

(h) The conqueror of the world.

(b) The defender of religion.

(e) The conqueror of the world.

(g) The reviver of religion.

(c) The glory of religion.

(f) The bright star of religion.

(i) The ornament of the throne.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE of the DESCENDENTS of TIMOUR, who have reigned in Hindostan.

Began to Reign. A.H. A.D.		Reigned. Y. M. D.
1119 1707	Kotebeddeen (l) Shah Alum (m) Bahadre Shah (n), قطب الدين شاه عالم محمد بهادر شاه	5 0 8
1124 1712	Moezeddeen (o) Mohammed Jehandar Shah (p), معز الدين محمد جهان دار شاه	0 8 0
1125 1713	Mohammed Ferukhfeer (q) with the eight months of Jehander Shah, محمد فرخ سير	7 1 7
	Raffieh ed Dirjat (r), رفيع الدرجات	0 3 11
	Raffieh ed Dowleh (s) Shahjehan, رفيع الدوله شاه جهان	0 3 15
1131 1718	Naffireddeen (t) Mohammed Shah, ناصر الدين محمد شاه	29 6 0

(l) The axis of religion.
 (m) The king of the world.
 (n) The valiant king.
 (o) The honour of religion.
 (p) The king who possesses the world.
 (q) Of happy disposition.
 (r) Of exalted degree.
 (s) Of exalted fortune.
 (t) The assiter of religion.

At the time Mohammed Shah died, the Prince Sultan Ahmed was with the army at Sirhind; and Malekah ul Zemanly *, Mohammed Shah's widow, who was a daughter of Ferukhseer, in order to prevent any sudden commotions, enjoined Ghazyeddeen Khan, and some other Omrahs to keep the event secret, till the prince's arrival. Sultan Ahmed, on receiving intelligence of his father's death, set out immediately for Shahjehanabad, leaving Nizam ul Mulk governor of Lahoor.

* ملکہ زماني The Empress of the age.

SULTAN AHMED *ascends the*
THRONE.

AT Paniput *, on the 2d of Jemady ul Awwel 1161, (or April 18th 1748), the Nawab Sefder Jung, having made the necessary preparations for the inauguration of the new monarch, by setting up the imperial Chetr †, and other insignia of royalty, congratulated Sultan Ahmed upon his accession to the throne of Hindostan, and did him homage. The Emperor returned the compliment by saying, "I also congratulate you, upon the Vizarut." The other Omrahs who were present were honored with different marks of the royal favour. The Emperor directed that the following titles should be used in the pulpit and on the coin: *Mojahideddeen, Abulnasser, Ahmed Shah, Bahadre, Padsha Ghazi ‡*; or *the warrior in defence of re-*

* ہانی پت

† چتر or umbrella, is one of the insignia of royalty.

‡ مجاہد الدین ابوالنصر احمد شاہ بہادر پادشاہ غازی
ligion,

ligion, the father of victory, Ahmed Shah, the valiant, the victorious king.

Those who were perfectly conversant in the proper forms, represented to the Emperor, that not one of the descendants of Timour had ever assumed the title of Bahadre, but had only conferred it upon their servants : however this remonstrance did not make him change his orders, and Bahadre was included amongst his titles. The Nawab Sefder Jung was formally invested with the Vizarut; the office of Meer Bukhshee, was obtained by Syed Selabut Khan Zulfecar Jung *, on the removal of Asof Jah †. Nizam ul Mulk ‡; Itemadeddowleh ||, son of the late Kummeddeen Khan, was appointed second Bukhshee : and the Nawab Abdulmajid

* سيد صلابت خان ذوالفقار جنگ

† آصف جاه *in dignity like Asof*, who they say was Solomon's Vizier, is a title commonly given to the grand Vizier.

‡ نظام الملک *the arrangement of the empire*, the action being here used for the person.

|| اعتماد الدوله

Mej-

Mejdeddowleh * third Bukhshee, or paymaster. These were the only changes that then happened, all the other Omrahs standing confirmed in their respective offices. The Emperor's mother, who was a concubine, named Oudhem Biey †, now obtained the title of Nawab Biey ‡; and sometime after Nawab Koodsieh Sahebeh-zemany ||. Jaweid Khan §, the eunuch, who had been many years in her service, was at her recommendation appointed Darogha** of the Abdar Khaneh ††; the Feel Khaneh ‡‡, perfume office and of the Ghosul Khaneh |||, with the title of Nawab

* عبدالمجیدخان محمدالدوله Father of the present Abdullahed Khan.

† نواب بائسی ‡ اودام بائسی

|| نواب قدسیه صاحبہ زمانی The holy Nawab, the Mistress of the age.

§ جاویدخان ** داروغہ Superintendent.

†† ابدارخانہ The Water-house.

‡‡ فیاضانہ

||| غسلخانہ The Bath.

Bahadre

Bahadre *. Mân Khan †, the king's maternal uncle, obtained a munseeb of six thousand, and the title of Moatekid ed dowleh ‡.

The following event which happened in the same year, was the cause of great commotions. On the festival of Zuhah ||, Sefder Jung, in returning from the Eed-gah § to his own house, passed through the market place called Neegumbobdh **, when suddenly some thatches on the right side of the street appeared in flames, and there was discharged from that quarter a volley of matchlock and pistols balls. Several of the servants in the front of the procession were wounded, but fortunately the Nawab himself did not receive any injury. Notwithstanding all the enquiries that were made, the parties concerned in this audacious act could never be discover-

مان خان † نواب بہادر *

‡ معتقد الدولہ The trusty servant of the state.

|| عید الضحیٰ

§ عید گاہ The place where the festivals are celebrated.

** نکم بزدہ **

ed :

ed: however, as it occasioned suspicions in the mind of Sefder Jung unfavorable to the Emperor, he absented himself from court for three months. At last the exigency of the Emperor's affairs was such, that he was persuaded by his friends to pay the Vizier a visit, when by this condescension, and the most solemn protestations, Sefder Jung was satisfied of his innocence.

As soon as Ahmed Shah Doorany received intelligence of the feuds at court, he marched from Cabul for Lahoor. However Nizam ul Mulk, the Soobahdar of Penjab, stopped his progress, by promising to remit him annually fourteen lacks of rupees, in satisfaction of the revenues of some places ceded to Nadir Shah, for the payment of the expences of Cabul, and which Nadir Shah, till his death, received regularly from Zakaria Khan. Upon this negociation, the Dooranees returned to Kandahar, and Penjab escaped the horrors of devastation and plunder.

*An Account of the death of ALY
MOHAMMED KHAN the ROHIL-
LAH, and of the contentions which
ensued between his Sons and the
NAWAB KAIM KHAN, Son of
MOHAMMED KHAN BUNGISH.*

UPON the death of Kummereddeen Khan, Aly Mohammed Khan, Rohillah, Zemindar and Foujdar of Ownlah and Bungurh, was under the necessity of feigning a friendship with Sefder Jung the Vizier, and till his death acted with well-diffembled humility. His sons, imitating his example, connected themselves with Sefder Jung : but he, sensible that his country could never be secure whilst the Afghans maintained any power in that quarter, resolved to extirpate them, by sowing dissensions between those of Roh and those of Bungish. There are various stories on this subject, but what follows, appears to be most probable and consistent. The Emperor and his ministers, secretly per-

E c

suaded

suaded Kaim Khan * to destroy the sons of Aly Mohammed, by promising him possession of their territory. At the same time, Sefder Jung encouraged the sons of Aly Mohammed to make a vigorous opposition to Kaim Khan, and pretended to give orders to Nevil Roy †, the Naib Soobahdar of Oudh, to march himself with troops to the support of the Rohillahs. Accordingly, Kaim Khan took the field with a large army against the Rohillahs, resolved to destroy them; whilst the Rohillah Chiefs confiding on the assurances they had received from Sefder Jung, marched out boldly to oppose him, expecting to be soon joined by Nevil Roy. Kaim Khan, seeing the critical situation of affairs, resolved to attack the Rohillahs before they should be strengthened by their junction with Nevil Roy. The Rohillahs, now alarmed at their situation, sued for peace; but Kaim Khan refused to listen to their proposals, and pursued his operations with vigour. The Rohillahs, driven to despair, laid troops in am-

* قايم خان

† نول راي

bush

bulsh with cannon, and after a short skirmish took to flight. Kaim Khan, inflated with pride by the repeated solicitations for peace, and thinking he had now gained the victory, pursued the enemy carelessly, till he came in front of the ambush, when the concealed artillery was so well served, that he and all his principal officers were killed, and the whole army fled with precipitation to Ferukhabad. Thus the Rohilla's, from their humility, and not having confided on their strength, returned victorious to Ownleh and Bungeurh. The Emperor and the Vizier, upon receiving intelligence of the death of Kaim Khan, had resolved to send an officer to confiscate his property, when they learnt that the mother of the deceased, had agreed to pay the Mahrattahs twenty lacks of rupees, provided they would extirpate the Rohilla's; and send her Saadullah Khan *, the son of Aly Mohammed, to be put to death, in retaliation of the blood of her son. As this invasion of the Mahrattahs, would have exposed the territory

* سعادہ خان

of Sefder Jung to their devastations, he persuaded the Emperor to march towards Ferukhabad in the month of Moherrem 1163, or in Dec. 1749, to prevent the threatened irruption. When they arrived in Sircar Kowl*, it was agreed, that the Emperor with Ghazyeddeen Khan, Intezam ed dowleh, and some others of the Omrahs, should continue there; whilst Sefder Jung, with Abdulmajeed Khan Cashmeery †, and Lutfullah Khan Paniputty ‡, Shere Jung ||, &c. were to proceed to Ferukhabad, in order to confiscate the estate of the late Kaim Khan. But the mother of Kaim Khan, who was a woman of great penetration and prudence, having learnt these resolutions, repaired immediately to the Vizier's camp, attended only by 300 cavalry. After a long conference she agreed to send the Emperor fifty lacks of rupees, and faithfully fulfilling her engagement, the Emperor marched back to Shahjehanabad.

* سرکار کول in Agra.
 † لطف الدخان پانی پتی ‡ عبد الحمید خان کشمیری
 || شیر جنگ

Some

*Some Account of the NAWAB MO-
ATEMID UL MELOUK, SYED AL-
LAVEE KHAN, HAKEEM BASHY.*

THE name of this illustrious person-
age, is Mirza Mohammed Hafeem *; his father was Hakeem Mohammed Hadi †; and his grandfather was Syed Mozuffereddeen, Hussein Allavee, of the stock of Mohammed Haneef ‡. Syed Mozuffer eddeen was a learned physician of Beabanek || in Khorosan, and afterwards settled at Shiraz, which is the native soil of his descendents. Mirza Mohammed Hadi, his son, besides his skill in physic and surgery, which was famous throughout Iran, was a remarkable fine penman, and possessed other accomplishments in an eminent

حاکیم مرزا محمد هادی † مرزا محمد هاشم *

سید مظفر الدین حسین علوی از اولاد حضرت محمد حنیف ‡

a Son of Aly not by Fathima, but of another marriage.

|| بیابانک

degree.

degree. He lived like a Calender *, and was stiled Mirza Hadi Calendery. During his studies, he wore the dress of the learned, but when he was composing verses, and in company at coffee-houses †, his habit was that of a Calender. The following are the most renowned of his pupils, who have visited Hindostan: Sheikh Mohammed Husein, Hakeem ul Memalik ‡, whose poetical name is Shohret ||; he was the greatest physician of his time, and a good poet. Hakeem Mohammed Ismail Shirazy §, who settled at Akberabad **, and was from thence called Akberabady, was a physician of great skill and extensive practice. Hakeem Aly

* قاندر a kind of Mohammedan monks, who despise worldly possessions.

† قهوه خانه شيخ محمد حسين حاکيم الممالک ‡

|| شهرت Renown.

حکيم محمد اسماعيل شيرازي §

** اکبر آباد The City of Akber, Agra.

Nuckee

Nuckee Khan *, who was patronized by the Nawab Azeemullah Khan †. Also Hakeem Mortiza ‡, and Hakeem and Moulavee Nuffeira ||, who went from Azeemabad to Shiraz. These with many other pupils of Mirza Mohammed Hadi, settled in Hindostan, the Dekhan, Iran, and other countries. The poetical name of Mirza Mahommed Hadi is Sheh-rer §: Allavee Khan had in his possession a dewan ** of his composing. He died in the year 1107, or 1695, aged sixty three years, and was buried near the tomb of Imam Moussa Kazim at Shiraz. He left behind him two sons, Mirza Mohammed Hassem (or Allavee Khan) and Mirza Mohammed Hussein ††. The latter was ve-

* نواب عظیم الدخان † حکیم علی نقی خان

‡ حکیم مرتضی †† حکیم مولوی نصیرا ||

§ شمر Spark of fire.

** دیوان A Dewan is a series of Odes, running through the whole alphabet, all the rhymes of the first terminating in ا of the second in ب and so on.

†† مرزا محمد حسین

ry learned in physic, as he has shewn by his commentary on the Canoonchee *. Mirza Mohammed Hashem studied under his father, assisted by Moulla Lutfullah Shirazy †, and Akhoond Messieha Assiey ‡. He travelled from Shiraz to the Dekhan in A. H. 1111, or A. D. 1699, being then in the 34th year of his age, and was presented to Alumgeer during the siege of Sit-tareh ||; that Emperor honoured him with a khelut § and a munseeb **, and placed him in the service of his son Mohammed Azem Shah. In consideration of his family descent and renowned skill, he obtained in marriage the daughter of Hakeem Mohammed Shefia Shushteree ††. In the reign of Bahadre Shah, he obtained the

* قانونچه or short Canons of the art of Physic.

† آخوند مسیحی افساسی ‡ لطف بد شیرازی
ستاره کده ||

§ خلعت a Drefs given on appointment to an office, and other public occasions.

** منصب Dignity.

†† حکیم محمد شفیع شوشتری

title

title of Allavee * Khan, with an increase of his munseeb, and jageer †. Whilst he was in the service of Mohammed Shah, that monarch ordered him his weight in gold and silver, raised his munseeb to six thousand, with a monthly stipend of three thousand rupees, and gave him the title of Moatemed ul Melook ‡. From the universal fame of his learning and skill, Nadir Shah, after the capture of Dehly, shewed him great respect, and under a promise that he should be permitted to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, he was prevailed upon to accompany that conqueror on his departure from Hindostan, as I have before related. He was continually busied either in writing prescriptions for the sick, or in literary pursuits, and yet to the age of eighty years, had never worn spectacles, and was possessed of all his other

* علوی خان The exalted Khan or Lord.

† جاگیر An assignment of land.

‡ معتمد الملوك The trusty Servant of Kings.

faculties in full vigour. Amongst his works one entitled *Jumma'l Jewama* *, or the *Collection of Collections*, is of such extensive erudition, that if all the other books in physic were to be lost, the whole art would be found preserved in this volume. He wrote very good verses, and has been celebrated by many poets. He was born at Shiraz in Ramzan 1080 (or January 1669), and died of a dropsy, at Shahjehanabad on the 29th of Rejeb 1162, (or 3d July 1749). Conformably to the directions in his last will, his remains were interred near the tomb of Nizam ed deen Aulia †. As he had no children, the Emperor at his death issued an order for the confiscation of his property into the exchequer; but afterwards, at the interposition of Sefder Jung the Vizier, it was commanded that his estate, of every description, should be divided amongst his heirs in Bengal and Shiraz; and Ha-

* جمع المجموع

† نظام الدين اوليا

keem

keem Aly Nuckee Khan *, his sister's son, was intrusted with the distribution. A year before his death, he had dedicated his library to the use of the public, under the administration of Aly Nuckee Khan, and the books were lent to any one who wanted to study them.

* حکیم علی نقی خان The maternal uncle of the Nawab
 Mohammed Reza Khan Mozuffer Jung نواب محمد رضا خان
 مظفر جنگ whose father Nawab Hadi Aly Khan
 نواب ہادی علی خان then enjoyed the office of Darogha
 of the *Dar ul Shefa* دار الشفا or Hospital at Moorsheda-
 bad, which is now held, but with reduced allowances, by
 Mozuffer Jung's elder brother, the Nawab Mohammed
 Hussein Khan نواب محمد حسین خان a very respectable
 character.

☞ For the information of such of our Readers as are not conversant in the Persian language, it may be necessary to observe, that the explanations in the notes are, for the most part, in the singular number.

THE END.

